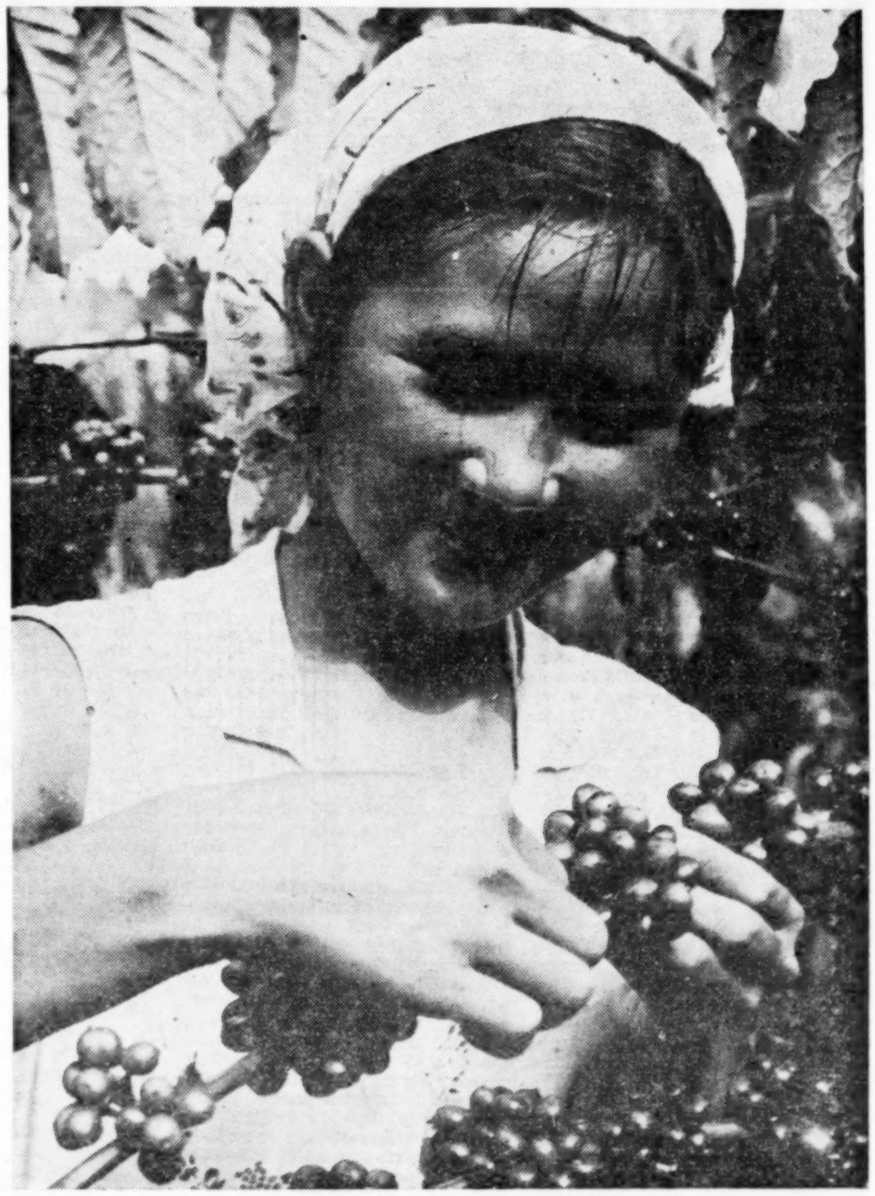
CAN WE DISARM AND CONVERT TO PEACE WITHOUT A CRASH? . . . Pages 6-7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

15 cents

the progressive newsweekly

VOL. 11, NO. 52 NEW YORK, OCTOBER 12, 1959



UNDER HEAVEN ALL ARE ONE FAMILY

Thus say the Chinese as they mark the People's Republic's 10th year

THERE'S NO MOSCOW-PEKING RIFT

For real world peace U. S. must deal with China as equal, too

By Kumar Goshal

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC of China marked its tenth anniversary (Oct. 1) with a banquet the night before for 5,000 guests. The most distinguished guest was Soviet Premier Khrushchev, who had left for Peking after only 31 hours in Moscow following his strenuous U.S. tour.

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai paid special tribute to Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. "as an envoy of peace." This, the Peking radio said, was greeted with "thunderous applause." He spoke of China's great achievements despite the fact that "we are still lacking in experience and there are still not a few shortcomings and difficulties in our work." He added:

"The great thing, however, is that after several years of groping we have, in the light of Marxism-Leninism regarding socialist construction, begun to work out a general line for building a socialism suited to the conditions of China."

A NEW BALANCE: Khrushchev saluted the Chinese leaders and people for their "glorious victory . . . which has opened up a new era in the history of China." Ten years ago, he said, both friends and foes of China understood that this "victory of the people's revolution in a country with a population exceeding half a billion" would change the world balance of forces "in favor of socialism." Now they acknowledge that China's achievements are "having a great impact on the countries of Asia and Africa."

Khrushchev said that the "time has gone for ever" for imperialist attempts to restore capitalism in socialist countries because these countries have developed an effective defense against aggression. He said:

"This certainly does not mean that since we are so strong we should test the

(Continued on Page 10)

Paris l'Express

PUGWASH SCIENTISTS ASK ABOLITION OF GAS AND GERM WEAPONS

U. S. depicts chemical warfare as 'humane'

By Robert E. Light

THE ARMY CHEMICAL CORPS, with the Defense Dept.'s tacit approval, has run a publicity campaign up the flag pole and is waiting to see if the public will salute. Its purpose is to depict chemical and biological weapons as "humane" warfare: few casualties, no property damage and cheap to produce. The Russians, the brass warn, are ready and able to use such weapons. And, they hint, for us they would make an ideal arsenal for a limited war.

But the weapons the Chemical Corps is currently producing are as deadly as an H-bomb.

Until a few months ago the Pentagon kept a tight security lid on all information about chemical and biological weapons. Military men would not even admit that we owned or manufactured them. Secy. of the Army Wilbur M. Brucker said it was "out of fear of adverse international and domestic psychological relations." But the fear seems to have abated and recently newspapers and magazines across the country have carried interviews with active and retired Chemical Corps generals.

HOW IT WORKS: Science writer Walter Schneir in the **Reporter** (Oct. 1) describes how the campaign works: (1) High military officers make speeches to specially selected groups; (2) officers testify at closed Congressional hearings and care-

(Continued on Page 9)

Anniversary: Mankind on the march

The story below was cabled by Anna Louise Strong, the GUARDIAN's correspondent in China, and the only American reporter there. Miss Strong, rounding out the first year of her latest tour of duty there (see p. 3), was in China during the early struggles of the revolutionary movement. Her presence at the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949 was a fitting highlight in Miss Strong's long and honorable career as a journalist—a career marked by a matchless integrity.

By Anna Louise Strong

Special to the Guardian

PEKING

THERE WAS MORE GAIETY per square mile in China yesterday (Oct. 1) than probably anywhere before on earth. The night before last crowds from the city and suburban communes poured into the streets, preparing the demonstration for the Tenth Anniversary celebrations.

Dawn found solid masses everywhere—especially children—tirelessly, happily waving colored paper flowers and applauding international guests. The demonstration was an incredible burst of strength and beauty and exultation. Crowds again filled the streets, dancing in the enlarged Tien An Men Square (Square of Heavenly Peace), with fireworks lighting up the sky after midnight. They ignored intermittent showers in an exuberance of joy.

My insistent impression, "this is mankind marching," seems justified, although China has only one-quarter of mankind and the socialist world as a whole one-third. But delegations from supporting parties and organizations from over 80 nations—including Japan, Indonesia, Iraq, Nigeria, Guinea and Latin American countries—showed participation far beyond mankind's majority.

When former colonial nations are included, it becomes clear that more than half of mankind already aspires toward socialism. And Soviet Premier Khrushchev's arrival here, after his peace crusade in America, proclaims that practically all mankind is demanding peace.

In the light of these realizations, yesterday's demonstration expressed not only China's achievements but also mankind's irresistible forward march.

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THE MAIL BAG

Tact & forbearance

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We enjoyed very much your coverage of the Khrushchev tour. It was temperate, factual, informative. I wish it might have had a wider circulation.

It seems to me that Khrushchev, when taunted by our hecklers, showed tact and forbearance in not retaliating with some instances from our own history of genocide, aggression and ruthless suppression of rebellious states. I was born in the South 70 years ago, and remember as a small boy my grandfather waving the bloody shirt against the "tyrannical dictator" who sent Northern armies into the South. As to genocide, K did not refer (though he might have) to the extermination of the American Indian, for no other crime than that he owned the land we coveted. On aggression, he did not hurl back into our teeth the Mexican War by which we stole Texas; the Spanish-American War, which brought us Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico; Theodore Roosevelt's open aggression in Panama to build the Canal.

Now that the hullabaloo is over, and some of the hysterical gentlemen who participated in it have had time to cool off, I intend to write them just what their asinine behaviors seemed to indicate to intelligent Americans who do not regard the Soviets as devils.

Charles Pemberton

Nikita Peaceful

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I stopped off in Savannah last week and attended a christening party of a Negro child baptized Nikita Peaceful, in honor of the Premier who arrived in America at about the same time as the baby. The officiating preacher remarked in closing: "I trust the good Lord will see to it that this here child keep that name all the days of his years; neither him nor his namesake, nary one or the other, doin' nothin' unbecomin' that proudful name to make it otherwise" **L.G.**

The fearful few

BALTIMORE, MD.

Enjoyed your pieces on the Khrushchev tour. I started mine today for the November issue of **Horizons**, the French publication I write for. I said this:

"Nikita Khrushchev's visit to America has, like a magnet, polarized world thought into two fields—one positive, the other negative. Whether sympathies lie with the East or West, or in neutrality, there are some people in each camp who feel no hesitancy in accepting any challenge from the nation with the most Ford cars, or from the land that flies its banner on the moon, believing each can teach as well as learn. But there are others who are fearful of all intercourse, commercial, cultural or scientific, willing still to risk a nuclear annihilation, rather than accept the possibility that their analysis of history was wrong. And in the months to come, it will not be sufficient to rely on words. The Biblical injunction will apply, that by their actions we shall know such men."

Tom Buchanan

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Congressman Craig Hosmer, a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, tells the story about the time the Atomic Energy Commission held a briefing on atomic energy matters for the rank and file in the House of Representatives. After listening intently, one Congressman—mercifully unidentified by Hosmer—asked the briefing scientist: "Doctor, what is the native habitat of the atom?"

—San Jose **Mercury-News**, 9/27/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G. D., Cupertino, Cal.

For national survival

BELHAVEN, N.C.

If the capitalist elite really thought Khrushchev's disarmament proposal was a bluff, they would call it. But they know it is not a bluff, and fearing the consequences of rejecting it outright, they will pretend to be interested, but will find countless excuses for not accepting it.

The whole world can now see what socialists have always known, namely, that socialism thrives better without armaments and war, while capitalism spawns armaments and war and will not relinquish them.

Not only does capitalism not propose general and complete disarmament—it will not even accept disarmament when the socialist world offers it.

It is highly in the interest of national survival that the American people should accept Khrushchev's offer of general and complete disarmament and solve their economic problems by scrapping capitalism and converting to socialism at once.

Vernon Ward

Let's US go!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Khrushchev put it in a nutshell: "In our system of society we think in terms of **our** instead of **mine!**"

That is the kind of overhauling our world needs today.

America's slogan has always been: "Let's go!" It is high time we do that for the many instead of the few.

M. S.

See page six

EL CAJON, CALIF.

What is Mr. Khrushchev trying to do to us with this disarmament talk of his?

If his plan were accepted where would the military men turn for jobs? Where will the aviation industry turn in order to make profits of up to 800%? Wait until you hear the anguished shrieks of Mr. Meany, to say nothing of those from the stock exchange, to learn how dangerous and subversive such talk is.

I actually think that this attempt to stop war is a nefarious plot to undermine the very foundations of our freedom.

Robert Karger

Not fit to pray

WEST HAVEN, CONN.

Evidently Robert Cannon, the priest in N.Y., does not follow the teaching of the Bible. In his call to prayer on the Khrushchev visit he expressed his hatred and used a language not fit for print. Can you call that a prayer?

M. R.

Others pay cash

UPLAND, CALIF.

A religionist from Pasadena suggested that Khrushchev should be approached on recognition of the Deity, as we do in putting "In God We Trust" on our money.

K could reply with a question: "If you trust in God why is the value of your money going down? Do you depend on mottos or the purchasing power of the dollar?"

E. P.

Wall Street Journal

"I like to think we're doing our bit to ease the tight money situation."

Bottoms and barrels

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Mr. Khrushchev did not enjoy the "can-can." He thought that the American people were too interested in "bottoms."

I think that the editors of serious literature should not be interested in the literary scrapings of the "bottom of the barrel."

How important to social betterment, to the cause of peace and to brotherhood of man are the sensuous performances of the over-sexed, as sometimes advertised in your book columns?

Mina I. Lewis

Irrelevant journalism

FRESNO, CALIF.

The headline-seeking journalists gave a cheap and disappointing account of themselves. Their questions to Mr. K were dated, provocative and almost wholly irrelevant to such serious themes as peace, disarmament, reciprocal trade and general public enlightenment.

Marius Hansome

Pauling at Hiroshima

CHEYENNE, WYO.

The Linus Pauling talk on "Atomic Death or World Law" ranks with the best and most timely articles I have ever seen in the GUARDIAN. Please send me six more copies of this article.

Nobel Peace Prize winner Lester Pearson, by the way, never was Prime Minister of Canada. He served as Minister of External Affairs in St. Laurent's cabinet when the last Liberal government was in power.

James C. Murphy

Light on labor

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Many thanks for Pauling's hair-raising piece on the latest revelations on atomic damage to all humans.

Thanks also for the very competent piece on U.S. labor in the depths by Robert Light. It tells some things we suspected but didn't actually know. Has anyone but us ever regretted that the expelled 11 unions didn't coalesce as a renewed prong for advance?

E.C.R.

Lunik II a la Shakespeare

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

"Pardon, goddess of the night . . ." Much Ado, V, ii.

"And he will make the face of heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun." Romeo & Juliet, III, ii.

"A hit, a very palpable hit." Hamlet, V, ii.

"The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes." Henry IV, P. I, III, i.

"What's to come is still unsure." Twelfth Night, II. iii.

"Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
Threaten his bloody stage." Macbeth, II, iv.

"You are gentlemen of brave mettle; you would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing." Tempest, II, i.

"I am aweary of this moon . . ." Midsummer-Night's Dream, V, i.

Jaime

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS AGO TODAY, on Oct. 10, 1911, the Chinese Republic was established. And now in Peking, Mme. Sun Yat-sen, widow of the father and first president of the 1911 Chinese Republic, has stood before the assembly of patriots of every class and station that founded the Chinese People's Republic and stated its objective in these words:

"Let us devote ourselves to the struggle to prevent the destruction of civilization and to guarantee the enjoyment of life by every person in the world. We shall never stop working until every cottage is rebuilt into a comfortable home, until produce flows freely over the good earth, until profits of factories are fairly distributed. We shall not attain our goals until these necessities are available to all people alike, regardless of race, color, belief and areas."

Such are the goals of China today—the land that our own and Chinese reactionaries tried to make a major battleground in a third world war. The victories of the Chinese revolution have already tipped the scale of history.

—Agnes Smedley in the National Guardian, Oct. 10, 1949

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A.-Possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Pureau, 103 Avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 11, No. 52 401 October 12, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

The great challenge

THE CHALLENGE OF OUR EPOCH has been laid before the capitalist world by the socialist world: total disarmament in the next four years, and a competition of social systems to fulfill the needs and wants of the world's peoples, in an era of peaceful coexistence.

The socialist world offers its challenge with full confidence that the socialist system will win out in the long run in such a competition—and that perhaps the run may not be so long ("Your grandchildren will live under socialism."—N.K.)

But such confidence implies a question mark after the term peaceful coexistence, as if the term should be, more properly, peaceful transition to socialism. The capitalist world does not relish the notion of transitioning itself out of business; and a ruling segment of the capitalist world lives by the conviction that it can stay in business profitably only when at war or when preparing for war. Furthermore, a preponderance of socialist argument has held, too, that without war production as a prop to its economy, the capitalist system would long since have fallen.

YET, WHETHER OR NOT a military economy can prop up the capitalist system beyond its time (the GUARDIAN has argued that it cannot: **Facts about the American economy**, by Tabitha Petran, Aug. 1-29, 1955), the facts of today are that an error of judgment in the so-called "Balance of Terror" maintained by the nuclear arms race can destroy both worlds, capitalist and socialist. So ways must be searched out—indeed by both sides in the argument—to remove the threat from mankind; and this means that the non-socialist world must be persuaded to the view that life can, and must, go on without armaments. It's coexistence (as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn once put it) or no existence.

This week, in the center spread (pp. 6 & 7) the GUARDIAN presents two programs for economic progress without military production in our non-socialist economy.

Both programs have much in common, proposing remedies with which U.S. progressives have long been familiar, from the Progressive Party's program of 1948 and many subsequent proposals, two of which were outlined in the GUARDIAN in January, 1951, and in March, 1954. The GUARDIAN's 1954 proposals, by Victor Perlo, went beyond either of those presented this week, in calling for the 30-hour week. And with automation on the threshold, as well as the urgency of ending war production, even a 30-hour week goal may become obsolete before it can be instituted.

YET IN OTHER RESPECTS, the new proposals are more modern, both calling for reduction of taxes on the people to give purchasing power for consumer goods, while retaining a major portion of present armaments expenditures for public works, education, health, housing, etc., implying that industry will be expected to foot the bill. Both foresee a stimulus to industry from a resumption of worldwide trade; and both envision a changeover without depression—meaning perhaps also that the transition may take place without the kind of hardship which might lead to popular upheavals and demands for immediate social change.

We do not suggest that the proposals now before us contain all the answers. They mainly lead the discussion in what we regard as the most fruitful direction. We invite comment, and we hope that the ensuing search may bring forth more of the needed answers to what we accept as the great task of our time, the task of keeping the world intact while its enormous resources may be developed for the best good of all the people who inhabit it. **—THE GUARDIAN**

VAST CHANGES IN A SINGLE YEAR

Peking is transformed for 10th Anniversary

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

PEKING

IN THE PERIOD leading up to China's National Day on Oct. 1, the newspapers daily reported new marvels. One day you learn that 100,000,000 students go to school in China, from primary school to University; the primary schools have three and a half times as many children, the secondary schools eight times as many and the universities six times as many students as they had ten years ago.

Next day you learn that this land, which after the Pacific War was depending on handouts of raw cotton from the U.S., in ten years has built a complete textile industry, growing its own cotton and making its own machines, and spinning and weaving the cloth to supply all its nearly 700,000,000 people. Next day you read that in ten years the forests planted cover an area greater than the whole of Great Britain.

Shanghai staggers you with the news that her machine-building industry produces 54 times what it made ten years ago; that her Kiangnan Dockyards, oldest in China, in seven years turned out more than twice what they made in the previous 90.

The figures are exciting and you are dazzled by the number of them. So I turn to a simpler indication of China's growth—the changes I see in Peking in a single year.

NEW AIRPORT: When I came to Peking a year ago, there was a very creditable airport. Now it is unnoticed off at the side of a fine new one. Visitors now

come into a majestic structure and pass through marble corridors to a beautiful prospect where fine avenues, lined with trees and flowers, sweep towards Peking.

Approaching the city, there is an expanse of new public buildings. This is the new Agricultural Exhibition Center; last winter argricultural exhibits were held in half a dozen halls in Peking. Now they have a big permanent place covering 125 acres, 90% of it in plants and greenery with even an artificial lake, and 12 big permanent buildings for exhibitions.

"This center was built in nine months," they tell you. Nine months! You learn that that is the usual time for a big construction now. You will find several dozen new constructions equal in size to the new Agricultural Center.

Last Sunday I went to the opening of the National Games in the new Workers Stadium (also built in nine months). Few cities in the world can match it in size. Los Angeles can and Moscow; they have stadiums holding 100,000. Peking's new stadium holds 80,000, but the day I was there at least 100,000 crowded in.

3 WEEKS OF GAMES: There were 29 track and field teams, marching to a 1,000-piece band, from all provinces and municipalities of China, in colorful jerseys and shorts. Ten thousand athletes participated in the meet. The minority groups, from Inner Mongolia and Tibet, rated special cheers from the crowd. Thousands of doves were let loose, tens of thousands of colored balloons soared into the sky. Hundreds of children in colorful clothes rushed across the arena and tossed bouquets of flowers into the audience.

Ho Lung, who was a general during the civil war and is now president of the China Sports Association, announced that China, formerly never given to sports, now holds 16 world records. The National Games will go on for three weeks in more than 20 stadiums, gymnasiums and swimming pools, with more than 500 matches and heats on the second day alone.

RAILWAY STATION: We go next to visit the new Peking Railway Station; the old one had become a barrier to traffic. Now they have a new one, ten times as big as the old one. A foreign delegate said: "I saw a palace with some trains out behind it." That's it.

It is a beautiful station sweeping over a large area, with tall clock towers that strike the hours. It has 17 waiting rooms, including three with 70 beds for mothers and babies, and also including special "state" rooms for receiving the nation's official guests. It can hold 14,000 persons, and its escalators handle 24,000 an hour. It is crowded but you note that most present are not going to trains. They are just Peking residents admiring their fine new station, built in just eight months.

Peking has a dozen new big structures, all built in the past year. This is not counting a dozen major factories built on the municipal budget, nor the 30 big industrial plants built in Peking this past year by the Central Government budget. In addition, there are 20,000,000 square feet of new housing built in this single year and almost 10,000,000 square feet of schools, universities and research institutes.

HALL OF CONGRESS: Biggest of all, of course, is the Hall of the National Congress, taking up one whole side of the greatly enlarged Tien An Men Square, the tremendous Civic Center of Peking. Here is undoubtedly the largest "Congress Building" in the world, combining the functions of the Capitol in Washington with the functions of the Senate and House Office buildings and several other functions besides.

CHINESE STUDENTS WITH BALLOONS CELEBRATE THEIR FOURTH OF JULY
This year a million paraded through Peking's Tien An Men Square

Rewi Alley and I debated whether it is really "supremely beautiful" or only "supremely magnificent." Perhaps the word that fits it best is "terrific." Every part of it is crammed with beauty, from the vast floors of the entrance halls and reception rooms, in many-colored marble from all the provinces of China, in the beautiful carpets, the fine hanging lamps and standing lamps, the jade accessories. No government building on earth, since the days when the Emperors built the great Forbidden Palace in Peking, was ever so full of objects of art and fine taste.

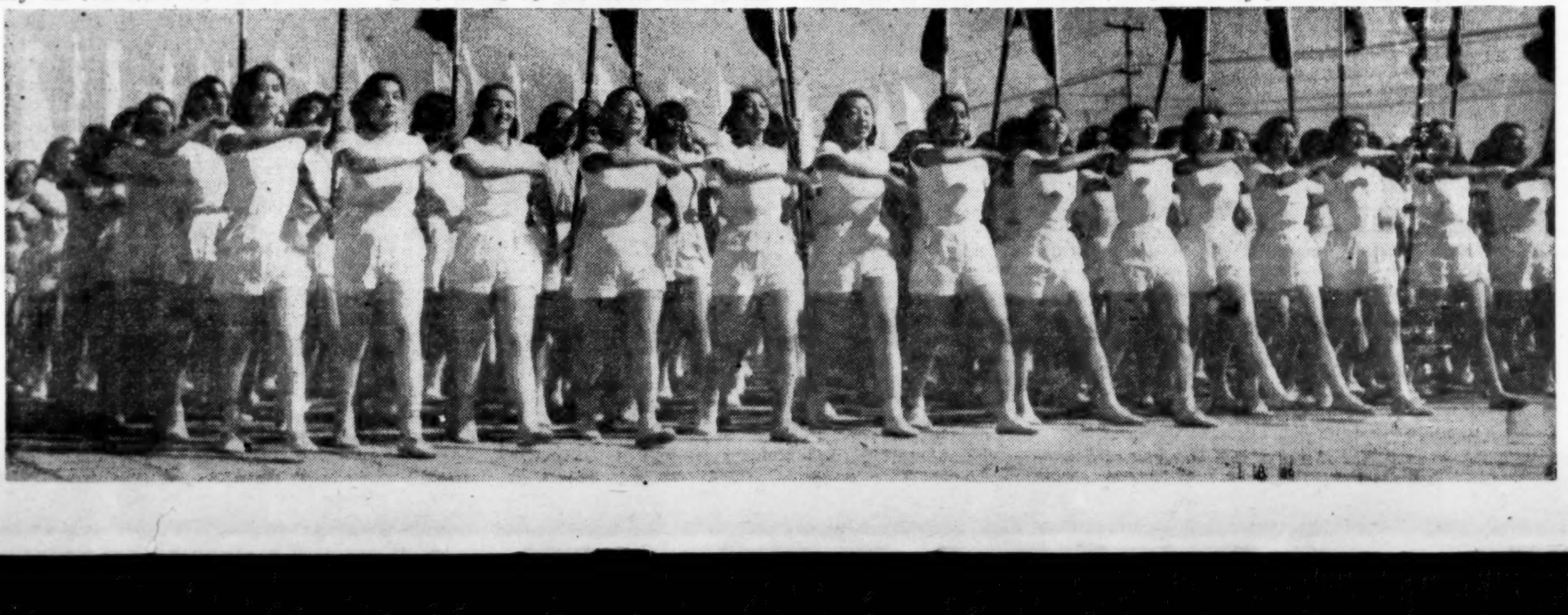
The Congress hall has seats for 10,000 people, and the 3,000 and more seats on the lower floor are all equipped with individual desks, microphones and television corrections, and earphones in 12 languages. Thus a member of China's Congress can rise in his seat and be telecast and broadcast throughout China.

FOR THE PUBLIC: The more than 6,000 gallery and balcony seats for the public are comfortable, with a full view of the stage and with an individual microphone that can be made loud or soft. No pillars obstruct the view from these balconies; they are hung on a great steel arch like a suspension bridge.

There is a banquet hall seating 5,000 with great windows looking northward at the Forbidden City, the Peihai Park, the Coal Hill Park and other ancient beauty spots of China. It holds a large stage, fully equipped for the operas that usually grace Chinese banquets, with a great curtain in cadmium yellow that swings from an oval rod in the ceiling, so that at an easy touch it can encircle the entire stage in its folds, or be held back against the far wall.

There are many huge reception rooms for the Congress deputies to meet their guests. Each is full of art and beauty. Great screens, held upright in dark frames of carved blackwood, show paintings in lacquer work, in gold leaf, in embroidery. The Hunan room is decorated by the Embroidery Crafts of Changsha; the Shanghai room is precious with carved green jade.

This Congress hall, covering 42 acres of ground and nearly 2,000,000 square feet of floor space, was conceived in September a year ago, and designs were called for. Construction began October 28. It was completed in ten months work (11 months including the designing). Everything in it was produced by Chinese inside China. The workers on it, boh professional and volunteer, averaged 10,000 a day. It was built by every province of the land.



WHY THE WALTER-McCARRAN ACT MUST BE REPEALED—I

Foreign born jeopardized by 700 grounds for deportation

By Frank Bellamy
(First of three articles)

THERE ARE 3,000,000 people in this country who can't be absolutely sure they'll still be here next month or next year.

Next to the country's 18,000,000 Negroes, they form the largest single bloc of Americans denied first-class citizenship in the land of the Free. In fact, they aren't even citizens.

They are the nation's foreign-born non-citizens. Including the nation's naturalized citizens, the foreign-born in this country total some 14,000,000. Denied equal protection under the law, they have no guarantee they won't be picked up and deported or subjected to denaturalization proceedings at the discretion of the government.

The mist of uncertainty that clouds the lives of the foreign-born is the handiwork of Congressional leaders who turned their backs on the Statue of Liberty seven years ago when they passed the Walter-McCarran Act. Still in effect, this legislation gives the Justice Dept. and the Immigration and Naturalization Service unprecedented authority over non-citizens.

TWO WEAPONS: The Immigration and Naturalization Service employs two chief weapons to keep the foreign born in line. These are denaturalization of naturalized citizens and deportation of these and non-citizens as well.

In the 50-year period, 1908-58, a total of 469,962 persons were deported from the U.S.—an annual average of 9,400.

In 1954, when the Walter-McCarran Law was two years old, deportations reached an all-time high of 26,951. After 1954 deportations dropped. There were 7,142 last year.

By Immigration Service definition, only those expelled against their will are considered deported. Those who depart "voluntarily" fall in another category and are included in a different set of figures. In 1954 alone, for instance, some 1,000,000 Mexican nationals accused of being in the United States illegally were rounded up and "voluntarily" dumped over the border without warrants, hearings or the right to counsel.

700 GROUNDS: Of the 7,142 deported last year, some were dope smugglers, racketeers and the like. But the vast majority were banished for no crime at all.

Nearly 3,000 were kicked out because they "entered without inspection or by false statements;" more than 2,000 because they "failed to maintain or comply with conditions of non-immigrant status." Others were cast out because they were "immoral" or "mental or physical defectives." One was ousted because he was over 16 and couldn't read.

Under the Walter-McCarran Law, an immigrant can be excluded from the U.S. on any one of nearly 700 grounds—or on no ground at all. One section of the Law provides that "if the Attorney General is satisfied that the alien is excludable . . . on the basis of information of a confidential nature, the disclosure of which the Attorney General . . . concludes would be prejudicial to the public interest," he may order the non-citizen deported without a hearing.

IT STARTS AT 14: An immigrant who fails to submit to registration and fingerprinting within 30 days of his 14th birthday is subject to deportation. For failing to carry an alien registration card at all times he can be fined, imprisoned and deported. The same goes if he wilfully fails to notify the service of a change of address within ten days.

REP. FRANCIS E. WALTER
The curse of xenophobia

Illegal entry is ground for deportation. So is illegal re-entry. The re-entry of Communist leader Irving Potash after he had been deported to Poland cost him a two-year prison sentence.

Potash's desperation to see his family, his friends and his adopted land once again is an indication of the suffering a deportee undergoes when he is callously torn away from long associations and shipped off from American shores.

THE RETURNEES: A surprising number of deportees try to return. Some manage to sneak in and remain undetected for years, using social security cards under fictitious names, refraining from voting, keeping out of trouble. Most, however, share Potash's fate. In the 1949-58 decade nearly 22,000 deported aliens were convicted for illegal re-entry. The numbers will remain high until Congress and the Immigration Service bend to national sentiment and establish a policy of more humane treatment of the foreign born.

When it comes to "subversives," the Walter-McCarran Act leaves little to chance. Any foreign-born resident who ever indicated that he or she possessed an independent or progressive thought is in jeopardy.

The U.S. Supreme Court has taken much of the drive out of the Justice Dept.'s deportation crusade against "subversives." As a consequence the foreign-born progressive stands more chance today than at any time since 1952 of successfully fighting off deportation.

THE ROWOLDT CASE: The tide turned in December, 1957, when the court ordered deportation proceedings against Charles Rowoldt of Minneapolis cancelled on the ground that he had been only a "nominal" member of the Communist Party 21 years before. The decision overturned Supreme Court rulings in 1952 and 1954 that mere membership in the CP, regardless of its nature, was sufficient ground for deportation. Although the Rowoldt decision forced the Immigration Service to drop political deportation proceedings in about 50 cases, it did not halt all political deportations.

The deportation drive against "subversive aliens" started in earnest in 1951. Eighteen political deportations were registered that year, one more than had taken place in the entire preceding ten years. The drive reached its height numerically (its nadir ethically) in 1953 when 61 "subversives" were ejected, then receded rapidly as the courts stepped in. Only six political deportations were effected last year.

IRKED BY APPEALS: Nothing irks the Immigration and Naturalization Service so much as "subversives" challenging its orders in the Federal courts. Even if lengthy court appeals result in a final decision favorable to the service, it remains dissatisfied. In his 1958 annual report to the Attorney General, Immigration Commissioner Joseph M. Swing complained:

"Until Congress acts to limit these delaying repetitious appeals available to the deportable alien, the Service has no recourse but to expend years of continuous effort to accomplish deportation."

Swing cited the deportation of Martin Jiminez as a horrible example. The service first moved against Jiminez in 1951 but it was not until 1958 that it succeeded in deporting him to his native Mexico. In the intervening seven years, Jiminez's case was reviewed three times by the U.S. District Court, three times by the U.S. Court of Appeals, and twice by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Justice is expensive, when it is to be had at all. For each alien able to wage the costly fight to remain here, there are dozens too poor and friendless to do so.

NO TIME LIMITS: Yet deportation cases like Jiminez's that drag on for seven years are not exceptional. Rowoldt fought deportation for 21 years before his Supreme Court victory. And the Immigration Service only recently gave up trying to deport Harry Bridges to Australia after hounding and harassing him since 1934.

Most victims of the Walter-McCarran dragnet are no newcomers to this country. A statistical analysis of 295 political deportation cases pending in 1956 revealed that two-thirds of the deportees were 55 years of age and older. The same study showed that 87% had lived in the U.S. 31 years or more.

William Heikkila, the one-armed draftsman whose kidnaping and deportation to Finland last year evoked nationwide protest and forced the Immigration Service to bring him back to San Francisco, is 53 and has lived in the U.S. since was three months old.

AMERICANS FIRST: Like Heikkila, the typical non-citizen left the country of his birth so long ago that he has only distant relatives or no relatives at all left there. As the late Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, put it, the typical non-citizen "is no longer familiar with the language or customs of his native land. He was raised in this country. He is a product of our society, our culture, our way of life. By no stretch of the imagination can he be regarded as Russian or Hungarian or anything, except average American."

Deportees are torn from their jobs as well as from family and friends. Many, especially among older deportees, are left in exile without means of livelihood.

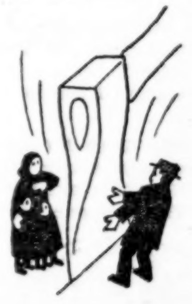
Hounding the sick and the old is an especially nasty practice of the Immigration Service. More than one non-citizen has taken his life rather than lose his adopted country. More than one has died as an indirect, if not direct, result of deportation. The case of Refugio Roman Martinez stands out here. Charged with membership in the Communist Party 19 years before, Martinez was deported to Mexico. He died four days later at the age of 50.

NONE ARE FREE: No foreign-born resident can feel entirely free from the attentions of the Immigration Service, or safe from the possibility of banishment. Louise Pettibone Smith said in her recent **Torch of Liberty:**

"What the threat of deportation means in terms of insecurity, anxiety, grief and dread, only those fighting to remain in the United States and the members of their families understand."

Cheng Guan Lim, the Chinese student who left the University of Michigan in 1955 to spend four years in the eaves of a Methodist church in Ann Arbor, was one such victim of "insecurity, anxiety, grief and dread." One of the things that kept him holed up in the church, he explained to those who flushed him from his hiding place, was fear of deportation after his student visa expired.

Chinese students have for years been a favorite target of Justice Dept. persecution. Their mistreatment broke onto the front pages in 1954 when the Immigration Service announced it was forcibly detaining 124 students who wished to return to their homes on the China mainland. The detainers were not lifted until April of the following year.



Keeping non-citizens in the U.S. against their will occurs far less frequently, of course, than keeping them out against their will. The most prominent non-citizen who left the U.S. intending to return and then had the door locked behind him was a comedian by the name of Charlie Chaplin.

Chaplin decided to visit England in 1952 on a combined business and pleasure trip—his first visit to his native land since he came to the U.S. in 1912. Immigration granted him a re-entry permit good for six months. But, as soon as he had left and was on the high seas, the Attorney General announced in Washington that the Justice Dept. was cancelling Chaplin's re-entry permit and would exclude him if he tried to return.

Understandably bitter, he never has.

NEXT WEEK: The man who runs the show.

N.Y. parley to discuss contempt cases Oct. 16

A CONFERENCE on Bills of Attainder, from the Hollywood Ten to the Barenblatt decision, will be held Friday, October 16, at the Hotel New Yorker by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. More than 20 persons indicted for challenging the legality of questions by congressional committees have been invited to participate in a discussion of resistance to congressional inquisitions.

Dr. Corliss Lamont will preside and Leonard B. Boudin will open the discussion with a review of the Un-American Activities Committee since the Hollywood Ten. Victor Rabinowitz will sum up the discussion. There will be participation not only by the defendants present but by others who attend.

The conference will begin at 8:30 p.m., following showing of the film "The Hollywood Ten" at 8 o'clock promptly. Coffee and dessert will be served, and admission is $2.50.

SPIRIT OF IKE-K TALKS LACKING

UN Afro-Asians win full debate on disarmament items

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

IN THE UN ASSEMBLY'S current general debate, there has been little reflection of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower understanding to "melt the cold war ice a little."

The 82 UN members have been voting on agenda items approved by its 21-member Steering Committee. They have also been presenting the general line they will follow on later issues. So far they have made little effort to reconcile differences that have kept them divided.

CHINA'S SEAT: Once again the Assembly upheld the U.S. resolution opposing a UN seat for Peking. The vote was about the same as last year's, 44-29, with 9 abstentions. Cuba and Ethiopia abstained this year, instead of supporting the U.S.; Greece and Laos left the ranks of the abstainers and voted with the U. S.

Observers were struck by two things: (1) The violent anti-China press campaign and events in Tibet and on the India-China border failed to reduce the pro-Peking votes; (2) The N.Y. **Times** (Sept. 24) considered it as "a warning to the future" that, among those favoring Peking "were such staunch democracies and such good friends of the U.S. as Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Ireland and Finland."

MIDEAST AND S. AFRICA: The delegates of Israel and the Arab nations again made charges and counter-charges over the United Arab Republic's refusal to let Israeli ships pass through Suez.

South Africa's External Affairs Minister Eric Louw blandly described his government's practice of racial discrimination as a "policy of peaceful coexistence."

DISARMAMENT: General disarmament was carried over from last year's agenda. This year, there were several proposals on separate aspects of disarmament, as well as the Soviet proposal for complete disarmament. Among them were the Indian resolution for nuclear test suspension, the Moroccan-Liberian resolution opposing a French nuclear test in the Sahara and the Irish resolution against wider dissemination of nuclear weapons.

The major Western powers tried to squash all these items under the general discussion on disarmament. They had used this ruse in the past to avoid prolonged debate on aspects of disarmament they disapproved. This year, the Afro-Asians, led by India, Morocco and Liberia, fought for and won Assembly approval to discuss each resolution separately.

ALGERIA AND SAHARA: Algeria was put on the agenda by 25 Asian-African states. All but one (Tunisia) regarded as the same old shell game French President de Gaulle's three alternatives for Algeria: (1) integration with France; (2) local autonomy; (3) partition and independence for one part of Algeria, with France retaining the part rich in mineral resources. The Algerian government-in-exile has agreed to a referendum, but has asked for negotiations for a cease-fire first and UN supervision of the voting.

French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville denied there would be any danger from radiation in the Sahara; he said the area selected for the test was sparsely populated. His statement was contradicted by the French Sahara Desert expert Odette de Puigaudau (London **Reynold's News**, Sept. 20), who described the region as a prosperous green belt with a large Arab, Berber, Jewish and Negro population.

Algeria, de Murville asserted, had a special status because of its large European population and thus could not be considered a nation. Afro-Asians accused France of maintaining a regime of terror and torture in Algeria. They urged France to open negotiations based on the "statesmanlike and constructive" proposals made by the Algerian Provisional government.

SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS: The Afro-Asians have been encouraged by the policy reversal of two states previously in the Western camp. Premier Rashid Karami of Lebanon defined his country's foreign policy as "positive neutralism, no favors to any one party, neutrality and nonalignment" between East and West.

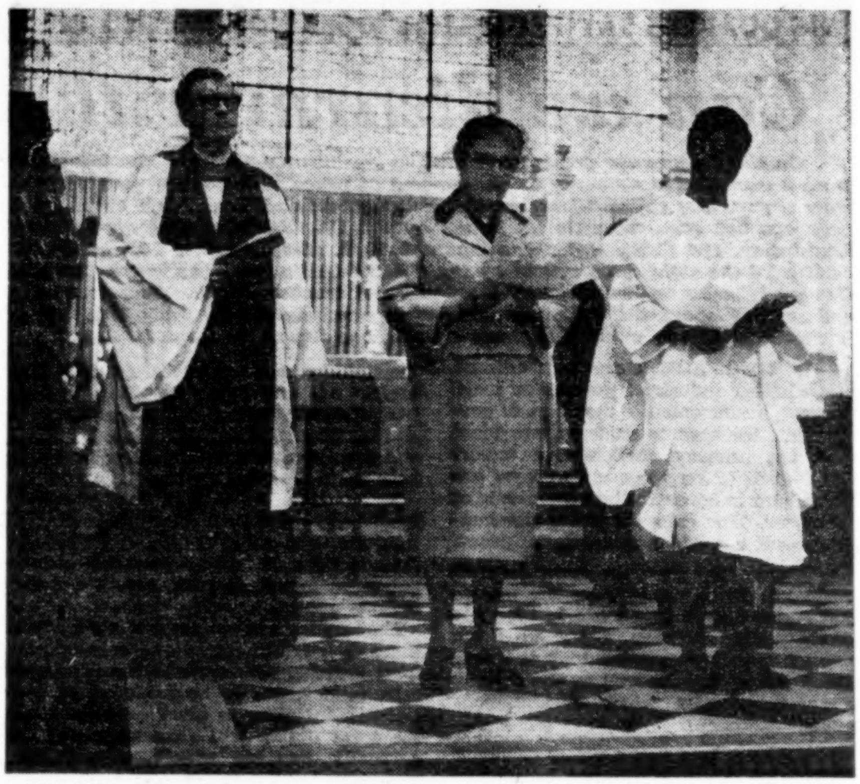
Cuban Minister of State Raul Roa said his country today "is truly independent and sovereign and therefore its international policy has shaken off all forms of servitude and obedience to others." He foresaw closer cooperation with the Afro-Asian nations, opposed the Sahara test and supported the Algerian demand for independence. He added: "In the chess game of politics and of power, we shall never act as a docile pawn."

PHILIPPINE INCIDENT: There were signs of rift within the Philippine delegation, which had often carried the ball for U.S. policy in Asia. While Carlos Romulo, Philippine ambassador to the U.S., was warning Americans about the "increased threat of communism" in Asia, Leon M. Guerrero, Manila's ambassador to Britain and an Assembly delegate, got into a bitter argument with U.S. delegate Walter S. Robertson, a former Asst. Secy. of State.

Robertson, brought back from retirement to handle Washington's Far Eastern affairs in the UN, has always been devoted to Chiang Kai-shek and dictated State Dept. policy on China.

At a lunucheon given by the U.S. delegation Sept. 30 for its Asian friends, Guerrero told Robertson he was paying too much attention to Romulo. Robertson reportedly replied that Guerrero was following the "Recto line." (Philippine Senator Claro Recto opposes U.S. bases in his country, urges greater trade with Asian countries, including China.) Robertson then catalogued U.S. aid to the Philippines and accused Guerrero of rudeness. He said: "You are the first Filipino who has ever spoken to me like this." "The trouble is," Guerrero replied, "that you are not used to Filipinos talking back to Americans."

He accused Robertson of "twisting our arm to do his chores for him." Robertson said Guerrero was carrying a chip on his shoulder; Guerrero replied he was not prepared to "carry the white man's burden."



ESLANDA ROBESON READING THE UN DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
The reading is an annual ceremony in London's St. Martin's-in-the-Fields

400 HEAR DEBATE IN NEW YORK

'Should Negroes meet violence with violence?'

IN A DISCUSSION punctuated by applause and cries of "Amen!" and "Go! Go!", four men prominent in the civil rights field debated the question "Should Negroes Meet Violence With Violence?" on Oct. 1 at New York's Community Church. For the affirmative, Robert Williams, suspended president of the Monroe County, N.C., NAACP branch, was joined by civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn. The negative was defended by Bayard Rustin, coordinator of the Youth March for Integration, and Dave Dellinger, editorial board member of the magazine **Liberation**, which sponsored the event.

Williams' stand was that retaliation to violent attack is a necessary ingredient of the Negro's self-respect. He cited the breakdown of law and order in his hometown of Monroe, N.C., which led him to a position that brought about his suspension by NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins. The South, he said, is uncivilized, without law or moral conscience. He contended that, in these circumstances, the only way to deal with the white supremacist "brute" is to repel it.

ROBERT WILLIAMS
"We're fighting for our lives"

WHAT TO DO? Passive resistance should be used where it works (as in Montgomery), he said, but violence should be used where needed (as in Monroe "where we're fighting for our lives."). In a finish with a flourish, Williams declared that "if it hadn't been for the violent men throughout history, the pacifists would not be here tonight."

Lynn sought to place the doctrine of violent retaliation within a larger social framework. The problem, he said, was not simply how to stop anti-Negro assaults, but "how Negroes can obtain first class citizenship." He pointed to the widespread and effective defiance of the Supreme Court anti-segregation decisions, the resurgence of the Klan in Alabama and the spread of violence throughout the South, and the fact that the Civil Rights Commission had not enabled a single disfranchised Negro to gain the ballot. "Montgomery," he asserted, "was followed by stalemate—and retrogression. The question is: What shall we do?"

For an answer he cited the June, 1957, skirmish in Monroe, where a rifle club of Negroes, barricaded behind sand bags, repelled an advancing army of 7,500 Klansmen led by city police. He emphasized he was not preaching war by Negroes against white people, but contended that Negroes of the South should not be expected to wait patiently until whites were ready to give them their freedom. "If the NAACP had had that kind of courage 25 years ago," he said, "we wouldn't have any Negro problem in the South today."

THE OTHER SIDE: For the negative, Rustin based his arguments on tactical considerations, Dellinger on pacifist principles. Rustin saw some violence as unavoidable, but insisted the problem was how to live with it, not how to increase it.

He cited an example to show that the Negro's violent response to his degradation would lead to an arms race in which he could only be the loser. In addition, he felt that the spread of violence would short-circuit currents of social progress and make the united action of Negroes and potential white allies impossible. He saw the organized defense of individuals as unfeasible.

As an alternative to violence, Rustin advocated non-violent mass action rooted in the Negro church.

UNITY THE AIM: Dellinger cited the experience of the interracial Koinonia farm community at Americus, Ga., as an example of non-violence in action. Violence, he said, would play into the hands of the White Citizens Councils. He pointed out that the great majority of white Southerners are not Klansmen or mobsters, but guilt-ridden, troubled people. The question, he said, is in what direction will they move—toward violence in league with racist fanatics or toward unity with Negroes?

The end, he said, must justify the means. As for courage, he contended that non-violent resistance required as much as violent defense. No man, in his view, had the right to take another's life, but all men might at times be justified in giving their own for a worthy cause.

A. J. Muste served as moderator of the debate. An audience of 400 took an active part in the question period.

THE QUAKERS SAY PROSPERITY DOES NOT DEPEND ON ARMS PRODUCTION

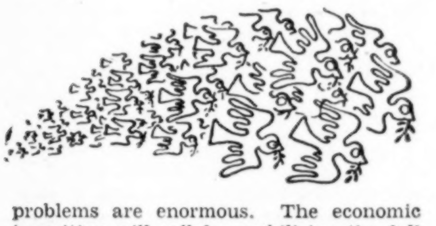
Can we disarm without an economic crash?

On these pages we present two articles on disarmament and the transition from a war-minded economy to an economy of peace. One (below) is excerpted from a pamphlet called "Questions on Disarmament and Your Job," published a year ago but even more timely today, by the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 104 C St. N.E., Washington 2, D.C. (Single copies 10c, 50 copies $4.50). To the right is an article by the GUARDIAN's correspondent in Prague, George Wheeler, a distinguished economist and teacher who has been watching and writing about the American and world economy for several years. As a background to our publishing these articles, see Report to Readers, P. 2.

WE WHO ARE concerned citizens, whether industrial workers or social workers, businessmen or members of government, teachers or students, are faced with the primary challenge of today's world—how to keep a world that we can live in and hand on to the generations of tomorrow. This calls for world disarmament and a world organized for peace.

It is clear that there are many **political** roadblcoks to be removed on the way to that disarmament which nearly everyone agrees we should have. Yet if we think only of these we may overlook the **economic** roadblocks—as well as the shining economic promise which disarmament holds.

The change to a non-military economy will require not only planning but determination, and a readiness to accept work and sacrifice along the way. The political



problems are enormous. The economic transition will call for mobilizing the full resources of the entire government in a prolonged attack on this question. It calls for the full cooperation of labor and management with government all the way from the local to the Federal level. A tough job—**but it can be done.**

Does American prosperity depend on arms production?

America enjoys a relatively high standard of living while devoting a sizeable slice of national resources and energies to making weapons of war. Certainly many jobs have been created by military production. This is not surprising, for it is just here that the government spends a lion's share of the Federal budget. However, to believe that prosperity can be created through arms production, or that this pattern of spending is sacred and unchangeable, is to follow an illusion.

Standards of living are measured by **consumable** goods and services. It testifies to the country's amazing productive power that we do reach such a high standard. If **all** that power were turned into the production of consumable goods and service, or of creative leisure—and **none** into armaments—our standard of living could be markedly higher!

American prosperity stems from our **productiveness.** To **maintain** general prosperity is to keep a steady flow of the total volume of things we turn out, so that we as consumers receive a steady supply of the things we need. It does not depend on how much is invested in one special field, such as weapons. In times of transition, when the make-up of some parts is shifting, it is of utmost importance to keep the **total** national spending —by **consumers, business** and **government combined**—at an even level. This can be done in different ways, and naturally some ways are better than others. But we can be certain of this: if we stop channeling a great part of our resources into the means of destroying human life and turn the same current into things which people need and can use, **real** prosperity **should** increase.

Is it true, as many believe, that a cut in defense spending will cause a depression, at least temporarily? It is not true if sensible policies are followed. Past experience does not show that defense cuts inevitably create recessions. Actually, the biggest cut in military spending we ever had was in 1946 and 1947, when business and employment remained good. That was partly, of course, because of a large backlog of wartime saving.

By contrast, in 1957 defense spending **increased**—more than $3 billion over the total for 1956—and yet industrial production declined the whole year and unemployment mounted, leading into a quite definite recession.

Economists generally agree that when there is a reduction **in one part** of our total national spending, both public and private, it needs to be balanced by increasing spending **in other parts,** so that the total outlay will remain steady, or gradually increase with the country's growth.

Under favorable conditions, it is often possible for an equilibrium to be maintained largely by increased **private** spending, as in 1946-47. Tax reductions, if large enough and properly distributed, can encourage such added spending. There is a pressing need for expansion of essential public programs such as education and public health, which are now held back largely because of the size of defense outlays. With a growing economy, there should be opportunity both for tax reduction and for a continuing expansion of public services.

What will we make in place of weapons?

If peace were to "break out" suddenly, would it find us unprepared—afraid to accept its bounty because we haven't found out how to use it? Our challenge is to find ways to bend our gigantic productive forces to our own will, to meet our real needs.

Right now the U.S. is spending some $45 billion yearly on war preparations; and concurrently, around seven and a half million of our people are employed in war-related work—including the armed forces.

Now picture a ten-year period in which armaments would be reduced by regular stages, down to a figure sufficient to cover internal security and our share of a world-wide United Nations inspection and police system—say $5 billion a year. Reduction on this scale would release some $200 billion otherwise going into armaments.

In education, for example, although Americans have been proud of their public school system, these facts stare us in the face:

- Over 130,000 new classrooms urgently needed **now.**
- Even these would not eliminate overcrowding and double sessions.
- National shortage of teachers estimated at 220,000.
- More teachers leaving the profession than entering it.

- National average teaching salary $4,650; many states less.
- Number of teachers receiving less than $2,500—46,000.
- Average income in many other professions 100 to 300% higher.

For public health, consider these two facts:

- Some 325,000 lives are lost each year through inadequate medical care.
- Over 1,200,000 more hospital beds are needed for adequate standards.

That housing rates a high place needs no argument. But more than slum clearance, and new housing is needed. For the America of the future, an area and urban development program of great size is a "must."

With an expanding economy go needs for better **roads and communication, flood control** and **conservation.** The vast lands now held by military departments—over 27 million acres in the Continental United States—can provide new **public recreation areas,** and help to conserve vital **national resources** in water power, minerals, forests and wildlife.

Government - supported **research,** now largely military, can be reoriented to peacetime, space-age living. With this should go a genuine program of **world development,** since we are members of a human family inhabiting a shrinking planet, where our security rests in a large measure upon the stability and welfare of other people.

How can military suppliers change to civilian work?

What about such industries as aircraft and electronics, which are largely built on military orders? And what of the communities in which armament activity is concentrated? Some large plants are now occupied 100% with military contracts, especially in such states as California, Washington, Kansas and Texas. In a number of communities across the nation more than a third of local payrolls are tied to military spending.

As a sound beginning, managers, workers and government must soberly face this fact: With disarmament, some industries will either become unnecessary or will have a smaller market for their products. They must find new **products,** new **markets,** or new **fields.**

Planning by industries and by organized labor calls for full and clear information on which to base practical plans. Much vital information must be **collected locally and regionally,** then **sifted and put together** in the national or even international perspective, to provide a dependable guide for the local people who must make decisions for their own businesses and families. The various types of government aid or backing can come into play.

In any planned disarmament the transition is bound to be gradual—for economic and practical reasons as well as political ones. A nation can't in a day switch production of $45 billion worth of military goods to other things. But the time needed can be reduced by wise advance arrangements.

The real problem is not strictly one of disarmament. It is the complex and continuing problem of maintaining full production and full employment in our high-powered 20th - century economy. Large-scale military production has only helped to **conceal** the problem and to postpone facing it. Soon we must come to grips with it in any case, or continue to court catastrophe.

How will working men and women meet the change?

The worker employed in a specialized industry has fewer resources to tide him over a readjustment period than do most businesses. His assets consist in personal skills rather than in capital. Personal savings and investments should not be required sacrifices for having worked in some industry once considered vital to the national welfare but now reduced in importance. The increased prosperity of peacetime must apply to all, and the hazards of the transition period must be shared by all.

What is the size of our problem? Currently more than one dollar in ten of the national income is going for military purposes. A comparable proportion of the national labor force is employed on military orders. As armament production disappears, workers need to know what new jobs will be opening for them in replacement, and how the changes will affect their daily lives. A national will to maintain full production and full employment will be the workers' best insurance; but there are some special knots to be untied. The "untying" implements should include the following:

- Extended and enlarged unemployment compensation.
- Mortgage payment insurance.
- Retraining programs.
- Expanded employment and placement services.
- Relocation and moving assistance.

—What about the people released from the armed forces? Will they be able to find jobs? Large numbers were released at the end of the Second World War and they were quite readily absorbed in civilian life. **Under similar conditions,** the smaller number now in the forces should present no problem. After the war there existed a backlog of unfilled jobs just as there was a backlog of unfilled consumer wants. Here again, the best guarantee lies in brisk economic activity, with plenty of forward-looking projects, both public and private.

The government must not push its military personnel out into civilian life without due provision for their readjustment. Severance pay plus opportunities for education and vocational training are essential. Many of the older veterans should be made immediately available for pensions. Today's forces are increasingly made up of technically trained people who can find opportunities in civilian air transport, electronics, machine repair, computer and automation work.

What public measures would help smooth the way?

The Employment Act of 1946 proclaimed a national policy of promoting maxi-

mum production and employment. It also set up machinery to help realize this aim, including (1) the **Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report** and (2) the President's **Council of Economic Advisers.** The Act calls for an Annual Economic Report from the President and frequent recommendations from the Joint Committee. There is doubt as to whether the government's obligations under this law are being met. Amendments are needed, with authority to carry out its good purposes.

U.S. government agencies such as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, various veterans' programs and the work of the Office of Defense Mobilization should provide helpful clues on how to **de**-mobilize, or **re**-mobilize for peace. Some overall supervisory agency is indicated, which can pull together information from public and private sources and coordinate national, state and local efforts.

The Small Business Administration is one resource for smaller firms in need of financial backing to convert their plants to peacetime pursuit. Other government measures that might be studied are selective tax benefits during a specified period of change. Tax credits could be allowed for losses during a period of reconversion, and tax carry-forward provisions liberalized to encourage plants to hold onto their workers even if output

(Continued on Page 7)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S NEW EXHIBITION BUILDING FOR EAST-WEST TRADE AT BRNO
Thirty countries participated in the first Trade Fair last month; the U.S. was absent

AN AMERICAN ECONOMIST OFFERS:

A progressive peace platform

By George Wheeler
Guardian staff correspondent

PRAGUE

WE ALL SAY THAT PEACE is the main need of our time and that nearly everyone wants peace. What, then, is the main block to disarmament and peace? Fundamentally, it is a false economic doctrine, and this can be illustrated by the response of different parts of the world to Premier Khrushchev's proposal for total disarmament. Here in Czechoslovakia and throughout the socialist, and for that matter most of the colonial world, the proposal was greeted with unmixed enthusiasm. It is not just that the proposal came from "their side." Rather it is that everyone here is fully aware of the complete disaster that war would be, is aware of the dangers of continuing the arms race in the age of hydrogen bombs and atomic missiles—and of the vast and immediate economic benefits that the end of the cold war would bring.

It must be conceded that the vast majority of Amercans also want peace because they fear war. But reading the press and listening to the radio makes it clear that in many cases this desire for peace is weakened by a great fear that peace with disarmament would be an economic disaster. They have been taught to believe that the manufacture of war products props up the economy, and that without the war industries there would be a collapse of the economy, deep depression and unemployment like that of the Thirties.

This false doctrine is perhaps the most widely believed economic doctrine in the capitalist world. It leads many persons to question the sincerity of any peace proposals, it unconsciously inhibits many honest people from working actively for peace, it results in all kinds of rationalizations of conduct that could result in war. Certainly it is the basic doctrine of Walter Reuther and other AFL-CIO leaders.

WHY IS THIS DOCTRINE so widely believed? Of course, the Pentagon and the munitions makers do everything in their power to popularize it. More than that, it has a superficial historical basis in that war in the past has always been a period of intense economic activity and high profits and high employment. Also, in the post-war period, increased expenditures for military purposes have repeatedly resulted in higher economic activity.

But the fact remains that the munitions industry and the cold war do **not** support the economy. Rather, they divert funds and economic resources from useful purposes to complete waste which now increases the hazards of existence and in no way protects even the capitalist system as such. The weapons being produced cannot be used without committing suicide, yet their existence creates a danger that they will be used.

The munitions industry does not support the economy because, when the Federal budget is balanced, taxation takes from consumers as much as is spent on war industries. The money is taken from one pocket and put into another—with a big rake-off in profits on the way. It cannot be argued that when the money passes through the complex mill of the Treasury-Pentagon it circulates faster. On the contrary, most workers, as all the data show, spend their money as fast as they get it. The diversion of their incomes to support war industries does not provide more employment, but probably less.

ON THE OTHER HAND, if war production is paid for by use of government credit—the issuance of bonds to cover a budget deficit—it is not the war production, but the expansion of credit which stimulates the economy. Because war production has been so profitable to some firms, they have been willing to push for an expansion of the credit system—in fact, it became a patriotic duty—in periods of war. But the credit system can be equally expanded for nonwar purposes. The governments, in other words, could go in debt for peaceful and useful projects.

Moreover, it has not been the Federal government, but the private sector of the economy that has seen the greatest expansion of credit in the post-war period and provided by far the greatest inflationary stimuli. In the period 1945 to 1958 the total public and private debt increased from $406 billion to $756 billion or by $350 billions. This enormous growth of the credit system was not the result of Federal support of the war industries because in this period the net debt of the Federal government actually declined. Instead, it was the result of the growth of corporate debt from $85.3 billion in 1945 to $236 billion in 1958, and of individual debt in the same period from less than $55 billion to $238.5 billion. (**Economic Report of the President**, 1959, p. 194).

The expansion of credit has been overwhelmingly in the private sector of the economy, and also more recently by state and local governments for peaceful purposes. This expansion could be continued or even accelerated as military expenditures were cut. If taxes were cut before the reduction in military expenditures there would be a big upsurge of purchasing power and stimulation of consumer-goods industries.

There would, of course, be a big problem of conversion of the specialized war industries to peaceful production. But the problem of conversion would be less than after 1945—as Theodore O. Yntema, vice president of Ford Motors, recently pointed out. Why should liberals and progressives exaggerate these difficulties of conversion and leave it to capitalists, such as Cyrus Eaton, or religious groups, such as the Quakers, to argue the feasibility of halting war production?

THE PROBLEM is not so much an economic one as the political one of mobilizing enough power to defeat the munitions-Pentagon group and force a change to peaceful coexistence. Never before have there been such profits in war production as today, nor such a ruthless and powerful war lobby which will do anything to disrupt peaceful negotiations. For example, it can send W. C. Foster, vice president of Olin-Mathieson, one of the top ammunitions-atom bomb producers, as the head of the U.S. delegation to the 1959 Geneva conference on prevention of surprise attack.

At the same time, agreement was never so absolutely imperative nor the possible gains so great as today. If only a part of the money wasted on production of obsolete arms were made available through tax cuts, pensions, etc., to the poorer part of the population, the problem of farm surpluses, for example, would vanish except for a few products.

The end of the cold war would also result in much more foreign trade. It could bring, too, a great increase in the volume of "foreign aid" and the transformation of the character of the program. Instead of exporting arms which wreck the economies of underdeveloped countries, the exports could be of machinery and other things that the people need.

Something of the great possibilities of this could be seen at the First Brno (Czechoslovakia) Trade Fair which ended September 20. The U.S. flag was conspicuous by its absence among the 30 countries exhibiting products. World-famous corporations, such as Massey-Fergusen of Great Britain, were there, and busy taking orders. But the U.S. was not getting a whiff of this rapidly growing business.

WHY WERE THERE NO U.S. corporations exhibiting at Brno? There certainly is plenty of work to be done and orders to be taken. As a witness of this, the director of one big Czech machine tool plant told me that even if no more orders came in they would have work piled up for three years—and that counts on an increase of output of 500% in the period 1959-1965! If the firms in socialist countries can get so many orders, is there no way in which U.S. manufacturers could get into the market? Obviously there are many possibilities, but they await the rational approach to foreign trade and extension of credits that will come with the end of the cold war.

It must be emphasized that many industrialists will not willingly adopt such a program. The profits of some of the most powerful corporations would be cut—even though others gained. This only emphasizes the importance of a new and vigorous political movement for peace. That cannot come as long as the American workers believe that their bread and jobs depend on war preparations. That illusion must be destroyed.

Also, it must be stressed that no claim is made that peaceful coexistence will solve the problems of the capitalist system. Its general crisis and economic cycle will remain. All that is argued is that armaments also do not solve these problems and in addition put us in continuous danger of incineration at a very high cost to our standards of living. If the American people organized for it they would find that peace would not be such a disaster after all.

Can we disarm?

(Continued from Page 6)

were small for a time. Careful study is needed of possible graduated tax reduction as an aid to private buying and investment.

The overall problem of financing the transition will not be serious if any savings from disarmament are immediately used to finance other needed government programs or tax cuts. The danger of a depression will be minimized if we avoid trying to reduce defense expenditure and the national debt at the same time.

What can we do to prepare for disarmament?

First of all—we can start. Get discussion going. Help make plans in your community for other employment for defense workers, to prevent hardship for individuals.

We can keep informed. Try to gather an interested group—even if only two or three—to collect and share information, divide up work and consider local plans. The Friends Committee on National Legislation will recommend materials to interested groups.

We can see to it that the economic machinery we have is well used.

We can work for improved legislation. Become familiar with votes and views of your local representatives in the State Legislature and in the Congress. Tell them **your** views, in personal interviews where possible, and in clear, to-the-point letters on issues calling for legislation. And of course, search out and support good candidates for office.

The Employment Act of 1946 should be strengthened. Some such legislation as the Area Redevelopment Bill needs to be passed. Unemployment compensation systems need overhauling.

We can encourage the mobilization and coordination of all government agencies, national and regional—to plan for and assist in carrying out the retraining and relocation of workers affected; to encourage research for the development of new products which can create new employment; and for the transfer to programs for the common welfare of productive capacity and labor now going into the arms race.

We can urge our government to give first priority to the search for political agreements and the basis for international disarmament under law so that the world may be rescued from the fear of war and the burden of armaments lifted forever from the backs of mankind.

BOOKS

Poems by Mao now in English

NINETEEN POEMS by Mao Tse-tung, selected from writings of more than 30 years—from his student days to 1957—have been published in English in a slender, cloth-covered, 38-page volume* by Foreign Languages Press, Peking.

The longest poem is 25 lines, some of the shortest only four lines each, and almost all draw on a rich fund of Chinese legend which sometimes Chairman Mao himself explains in footnotes. Otherwise translator Andrew Boyd, assisted by Mrs. Gladys Yang, explains the backgrounds, classical allusions and symbolism in six appended pages of notes. The poems all bear on the freedom struggle of the Chinese people, and in their course display the author's wide-ranging scholarship and love of nature.

THE POEM **Kunlun,** named for the mountain range from which flow the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers, explains the snow-capped peaks in terms of a legend of which the author says in one of his own footnotes, "An ancient poet said: 'When the three million white jade dragons are fighting, their tattered scales flying fill the air.' Thus he described the flying snow. Here I have borrowed the image to describe the snow mountain. In summer, when you climb Minshan, you look out over a crowd of mountains, sweeping away as if in a dance, and all white."

In **Kunlun,** apparently written about 1945, the author says:

If I could lean on the sky, I
 would draw my sword
And with it cut you into three
 pieces.
One I would send to Europe,
One to America,
One we would keep in China
 here,
So should a great peace reign
 in the world,
For all the world would share in
 your warmth and cold.

THE ORIGINAL manuscript of the volume's final poem, **The Immortals,** occupies the facing page to the English text. This poem, addressed in 1957 to the widow of a comrade killed in battle in 1933, recalls also the death of the author's wife at the hands of the war lord Ho Chien in 1930. In the poem to the widow, Mao described it as "an imaginary journey to heaven." The concluding lines tell, of "these good souls in the endless sky," that

Of a sudden comes word of the
 Tiger's defeat on earth.
And they break into tears of
 torrential rain.

—**John T. McManus**

POEMS by Mao Tse-tung. Foreign Languages Press, Peking. 38 pp. The volume of poems is not now available in the U.S. to our knowledge. However all but the final poem, The Immortals, *are available through Imported Publications & Products, 4 W. 16 St., N.Y. 11, in the No. 3 issue of the monthly* Chinese Literature, *along with a special article on Chinese poetic forms and other literary matter, illustrated and in color with a page of the original manuscript reproduced. Price 60c.*

ANNA LOUISE STRONG
With a friend in Tibet

About India

THE NOTES, jottings, personal observations and desultory diary of five years in postwar India as a news correspondent (for the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**) make up this book* by the wife of a British correspondent.

Their fundamental job, as she sees it, is "to understand India, and to a lesser degree the countries around it which we sometimes visit . . . But to understand, we have to extend our curiosity into many fields: psychology, sociology, politics, art, music, nature, architecture, economics, costume, folk lore, dance, cooking, sport. Always, every minute of the day, one can be thinking about and learning about one of these absorptions. And if one wonders occasionally 'Oh Lord, where can I find a good psychiatrist?' immediately one is taken up by the question of why aren't there any, and what do Indians do when they need one? Continually we are pulled out of ourselves and into the life of the country. And this is good . . ."

One need not agree with the author all the way to agree that the things she writes of are those we want to know about, but seldom get from the foreign correspondents. The author is now an editor of the **Ladies Home Journal.**

**THE LEAF AND THE FLAME, by Margaret Parton. Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y. 277 pp. $3.95.*

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS

The Tibet story

TWO NEW pamphlets on Tibet have been issued by the **Far East Reporter.*** One is by Anna Louise Strong based on her reporting from Peking through June (Miss Strong has since visited Tibet herself and reported from there in the GUARDIAN). The other was prepared here by Susan Warren from research on Tibetan affairs going back a dozen years and coming very much up to date with the reports of late summer on the doings of the Dalai Lama in India. It was written in anticipation of the since-successful U.S. maneuver of last month to again deprive mainland China of its seat in the United Nations.

Miss Warren's pamphlet, **The Real Tibet,** contains a brief history of Tibet's theocratic-feudal past and a summary of the reforms instituted by the Chinese government and the People's Liberation Army since 1951. She also compiles a body of evidence to support the charge that the Tibetan rebellion early this year was the fruit of U.S. manipulation in Asia beginning perhaps with Lowell Thomas' famous visit in 1949.

Thomas was armed (as Miss Strong's pamphlet points out)

with a letter from President Truman and, to keep him warm on cold Tibetan nights, "whiskey given him for the purpose by General Willoughby, MacArthur's chief of G-2." (Both writers note that, ten years later, an American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees, with Lowell Thomas at its head, popped into being on April 11, 1959, a matter of days after the short-lived rebellion of late March.)

MISS WARREN'S pamphlet points out that only 20,000 Tibetans (many of them coerced serfs) took part in the rebellion, of the 1,200,000 Tibetans living in the country (the rest of Tibet's 4,500,000 people live in other Chinese provinces). Taipei let slip at the time that the Chiang government on Taiwan had been aiding Tibet's anti-Communist organizations since 1957. While no outside instigator apparently expected the rebellion to succeed, it nevertheless touched off the charges of "genocide" and "Communist savagery" used by the U.S. to bolster its 1959 opposition to seating Mao's China in the UN.

—**J.T.M.**

**TIBET, What Happened? What's Ahead?, by Anna Louise Strong. 10c. THE REAL TIBET, by Susan Warren, 25c. Available from Far East Reporter, Maud Russell publisher, P. O. Box 1536, N. Y. 17, N.Y.*

New station sought for Dr. Lamont's radio talks

THE RADIO SERIES scheduled for New York station WRCA with Dr. Corliss Lamont, sponsored by the GUARDIAN, commenting on his round-the-world travels this year, has been rejected by the station as "not of sufficient public interest." The broadcast had been scheduled for Thursday evenings, Oct. 1, 8 and 15. Arrangements are under way to schedule the series on another New York station.

New reports on jimcrow

IN ONLY TWO cities of 21 recently surveyed by the Southern Regional Council are Negroes afforded completely unsegregated waiting room facilities. In eight other cities Negro interstate passengers are allowed to use the general waiting room but intrastate passengers are barred. In the remainder of the cities, whether the Negro passenger is traveling within the state or between states, he must use the inferior facilities of the jimcrow waiting rooms. In all of the cities bus station restaurants are still operated on a segregated basis.

These and other findings are included in a report, **Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities,** recently released by the SRC. The survey revealed that segregated facilities are less prevalent in railroad waiting rooms and restaurants and least prevalent in airline terminals.

The report, which sells for 10c, is available from Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga. Other recent SRC publications are: **Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis—35c; If the Schools Are Closed—A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan—25c** and a **Background on School Desegregation for 1959-60—20c.**

Parole letters

COPIES of letters sent to the U.S. Board of Parole, First and D Sts. N.W. Wash., D.C. on behalf of Smith Act prisoners Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, should be sent to Mrs. Lillian Green, 4721 N. Lawndale Ave., Chicago 25, Ill., so that photostats may be prsented to each member of the Parole Board in conjunction with hearings to consider freeing both men.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Showing the Ownership, Management, and Circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N.Y., for Oct. 1, 1959.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Editor, James Aronson, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Managing editor, none. Business Manager, John T. McManus, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N. Y. James Aronson, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y., John T. McManus, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear uoon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly and triweekly newspapers only.) 29,537.

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of Sept., 1959.

FAY KAHN, Notary Public.
My comm. expires Mar. 30, 1961.

BOOKS

Labour Monthly
An authoritative English socialist magazine of articles and comments on world affairs.
$3 a year
LABOUR MONTHLY
134 Ballards Lane,
London N. 3, England
Edited by R. Palme Dutt

GIVE A SUB TO A FRIEND
$1 for 3 Months

PUBLICATIONS

"The International Year Book— & Statesmen's Who's Who"
Published by Burke's Peerage . . .
This is the famed second edition and its sections on States of the World and on biographies (more than 10,000) have both been enlarged.
Published in 1954, it weighs more than five pounds.
Copies have brought as much as $30 each.
We offer copies for ONLY $2 postpaid.
Send $2 and the word "Burke's" together with your name and address to:
THE INDEPENDENT
225 Lafayette Street • New York 12, New York

Chemical warfare

(Continued from Page 1)

fully edited material is later released; (3) articles by retired officers (who cannot be held accountable) are placed in magazines; (4) word is passed among science and military writers that formerly classified material is now available; (5) reporters are told that certain high military officers are receptive to interviews; and (6) writers and editors are given private briefings.

Schneir reports that a civilian publicity man has been hired by the Army to supplement military public relations personnel because he "can operate with more freedom of action" in off-the-record briefings.

IT WOULD BE NICE: In all the publicity the military men have stressed the development of psycho-chemicals. These are hallucination-producing agents which "rob men of their will to fight" but leave no permanent damage. A Chemical Corps film shown recently to the Army Ordinance Assn. portrayed the reaction of a cat in a glass cage before and after the area was sprayed with a psycho-chemical. Before the spray the cat attacked a mouse entering the cage; after, the cat cowered in a corner at the sight of the mouse.

"I think you will agree with me," said Chemical Corps Major Gen. August Schomburg when the lights went on, "that this obviously possesses great possibilities." He added: "It would be nice to be able to fight at least part of a war without killing or wounding anyone and without property damage."

Major Gen. William M. Creasy (ret.), former head of the Chemical Corps, told a Congressional hearing on June 16 of a psycho-chemical that could change man's behavior pattern. If the committee room were sprayed with the chemical, he said, "we would think nothing of seeing Congressman McDonough dance across the desk. You'd probably join him and I'd clap."

MISSING A BET: In an exclusive interview with the Associated Press on Sept. 6, Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, chief of Army research and development, said: "I think psycho-chemicals are the coming weapons. I have a feeling that we are missing out on a tremendously effective and humane weapon."

Brig. General J. H. Rothschild (retired), former head of Chemical Corps research and development, wrote in the June, 1959, issue of **Harper's**: "To me this neglect of non-lethal chemical weapons is nothing short of tragic . . . If we are forced into a war with Soviet Russia or Communist China, we will have a much greater advantage if we do use these weapons. We will be fighting far greater numerical forces, a situation for which chemical and biological weapons are ideally suited."

Rothschild, as all other chemical warfare partisans, ended with an appeal for greater appropriations for the Chemical Corps.

BILLIONS FOR DEATH: While the generals skirt the issue, they imply that additional funds would be used for development of psycho-chemicals. But Schneir points out, at present these drugs are used in medical research only by a few psychiatrists. Little is known of their long-range effects. There is no proof they can be mass produced or made into weapons effective on the battlefield.

But there is proof that the Army has spent billions in developing the most horrifying chemical and biological weapons. In addition to non-lethal tear and vomit gases, the Army has stockpiled deadly nitrogen, mustard and nerve gases. By 1951 the Army had spent more than $1 billion on nerve gases, some so deadly that a tiny drop will kill a man in ten minutes if it falls on his skin.

THE DEADLY INSECTS: Bacteriological weapons are equally well developed. Schneir reported: "I was told that infected insects are kept constantly available at the Fort Detrick installations. The inventory includes mosquitos infected with yellow fever, malaria and dengue; fleas infected with plague; ticks with tularemia, relapsing fever and Colorado fever; houseflies with cholera, anthrax and dysentery." He added: "Methods of spreading various bacilli, viruses and toxins in the form of aerosols [fine sprays] have been successfully developed."

According to Schneir, a Defense Dept. directive has been drawn up giving a green light to a full scale publicity campaign. It awaits only White House approval. But as the **Newsletter** of the Society for Social Resonsibility in Science pointed out, "the Defense Dept. will watch closely to see whether there is adverse public reaction."

FELLOWSHIP AND PUGWASH: Also watching closely are a group of pacifists, members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. On July 1 they began a vigil outside Fort Detrick. It was to last five days, but the response was so good, it has continued till now. Almost 400 people have come to stand in silent protest outside the bacteriological base. Sponsors plan

THESE ARE NOT STRANGE CREATURES FROM ANOTHER PLANET
They are U.S. troops equipped for bacterial-chemical warfare

to continue until Jan. 1. (Further information may be obtained from and contributions sent to Vigil and Appeal at Fort Detrick, 327 N. Market St., Frederick, Md.)

Also alert to the danger are the Pugwash scientists, named for the town in Nova Scotia where they were first called together by American industrialist Cyrus Eaton. In a week-long meeting last August "to assess the potentialities of chemical and biological agents as weapons, and to explore possible means for their production or use in war," they came up with a program. It called for: (1) all nations to ratify an agreement against use of chemical or biological weapons; (2) a UN commission to gather information and investigate claims that nations had used these weapons.

THE ABSOLUTE PREVENTION: Although the scientists recognized that chemical and biological weapons are not as practical as A- or H-bombs because they can be used only under certain weather conditions, they also pointed out these weapons are more difficult to control. Small as well as large nations may own them because they are cheap to produce. And they may escape inspection by being manufactured in ordinary chemical or microbiological factories.

A Pugwash statement signed by 26 scientists from eight countries including the U.S. and U.S.S.R. summed up: "In the end, only the absolute prevention of war will preserve human life and civilization in the face of chemical and biological as well as nuclear weapons. No ban of a single type of weapons, no agreement that leaves the general threat of war in existence, can protect mankind sufficiently. We therefore must look forward to a day when the preservation of peace will transcend the ambition of individual nations."

THE CASE OF THE PADLOCK

More groups back Highlander School

THE MAIN BUILDING of Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., was temporarily closed on Sept. 26 as a result of a court order by Circuit Judge C. C. Chattin (GUARDIAN, Sept. 28). Even as Grundy County Sheriff Elston Clay (above) padlocked the building which has long served as a training center for Southern Negro and white integration leaders, protests arose from other parts of the South.

Rev. S. S. Seay Sr., exec. secy. of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., declared that 'Highlander faces the most critical period of its existence. Organizations and personalities that are trying to improve human relations across racial lines will continue to feel the impact of forces that are frantically trying to hold the line for a way of life that is contradictory to the highest ideals of the nation."

The judge ordedred the building closed on the ground that beer had been sold there, a charge denied by director Myles Horton. Officials of the school called on friends to protest to Gov. Buford Ellington at Nashville, Tenn.

HARRY BRIDGES
Guest of Honor
at the
GUARDIAN'S
11th Anniversary
Dinner
WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 18
New York City

T-H CASE TO BE ARGUED

Denver Smith Act defendants appeal

IN DENVER six former Colorado Communist leaders appealed to the Federal court for a reversal of their convictions last March on grounds that the jury foreman had since disclosed "deep and profound bias against communism, the American Communist Party, and any member." The foreman, Adolph Berger, was quoted as expressing these views in an interview in **Frontier** magazine following the trials. The six contended that Berger's views, held at the time of the trial, made him unfit to render an impartial verdict. The petition for reversal filed with the court was sent to Washington for study by the Dept. of Justice.

IN CINCINNATI Oct. 21, oral argument is scheduled to open in the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals on the appeal of the Cleveland defendants who were convicted in January, 1958, of conspiracy to evade the Taft-Hartley law. Since the trial the defense has produced evidence to show that the chief government witness concealed in court, with government knowledge, the fact that he had been an Army deserter. The Cleveland defendants include Fred and Marie Haug and Eric Reinthaler, former trade union leaders and Progressive Party supporters, and four alleged former leaders of the Ohio Communist Party.

Sane nuclear policy meeting Oct. 25 to hear Pauling

DR. LINUS PAULING, Nobel Prize-winning chemist and leading opponent of nuclear bomb testing, will speak at Carnegie Hall, Oct. 25, at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Inc. GOP City Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs will preside and Dr. Clarence Pickett, co-chairman of the sponsoring committee, will also speak.

Norman Cousins, co-chairman of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and editor of the **Saturday Review**, said "the meeting has been called as a symbol of the nationwide support that our committee has found to exist for President Eisenhower's efforts to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union to ban all nuclear tests under mutual inspection."

The Carnegie Hall meeting is part of a two-day National Conference which will bring together local leaders of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee from all over the country.

U. S. and China

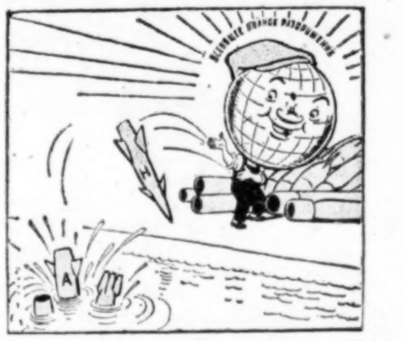
(Continued from Page 1)

stability of the capitalist system by force. . . . This would be wrong. . . . We have always been against predatory wars. Even such a noble and progressive system as socialism cannot be imposed by force of arms against the will of the people. [But socialist countries] by their example of socialist construction [can] inflame the hearts of the peoples and make them follow their lead."

ROAD TO THE SUMMIT: Since the Soviet Premier left Washington, there have been indications in the U.S. that President Eisenhower might still have a rough road to travel to the summit. Opinion seemed to be divided in the Democratic party. Its Advisory Council urged negotiations on the basis of Khrushchev's disarmament proposals. But Presidential aspirant Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said on Oct. 1 that Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. "is cause for redoubled efforts, not relaxation . . . more, not less sacrifice to protect and extend the world's frontiers of freedom." Kennedy said he did not mean "to minimize the values of the talks at Camp David." But, he said, the test would be in Khrushchev's "deeds in Germany and Eastern Europe . . . or in advising the Red Chinese on Laos . . ."

Former Secy. of State Dean Acheson, speaking on "East-West Tensions" at a meeting Oct. 2 in Bonn organized by the American Council on Germany and the Atlantic Bridge organization, strongly criticized President Eisenhower.

THE LIBERATORS: Acheson said the President should refuse to discuss West Berlin with Khrushchev and should build up NATO's military potential. He was supported by Prof. Henry A. ("limited war") Kissinger of Harvard and by Adalbert Weinstein, Frankfurt military commentator and member of the German General Staff in World War II. Weinstein urged that the West German armed forces be equipped with strategic nuclear weapons.



Izvestia, Moscow

Top label reads: "General and complete disarmament." Cartoon was captioned: "This is what the people want."

There was a continuing emphasis on "liberation" of Eastern European countries. Sen. Kennedy, Asst. Secy. of State Andrew Berding and the Republican Committee on Program and Progress all harped on that old theme.

Berding told the League of Republican Women in Washington Oct. 1: "Acceptance of peaceful coexistence has the effect of solidifying the status quo with the Soviet Union dominating the Communist bloc. We do not wish to contribute to the perpetuation of this status quo."

The Republican program makers said: "We are not reconciled to the captivity of millions [in Eastern Europe] by Communist masters, nor do we regard this as their permanent condition."

THE RIFT-MAKERS: Some observers hopefully saw a Soviet-Chinese rift in what seemed to them contradictory statements in Peking and in the absence of a joint Soviet-Chinese communique following Khrushchev's visit. In Peking the Soviet Premier said he had the "impression that the President of the U.S. . . . is aware of the need for relaxing international tension . . . We on our part must do everything possible to exclude war as a means for settling outstanding questions."

Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi was reported to have said: "We firmly demand the withdrawal of American troops from the Taiwan area. There is no force in this world than can prevent the Chinese people from realizing the full unity of its great fatherland."

These two statements seem contradictory only to those who demand evidence of a desire for peaceful negotiation from the East but not from the West. Neutral observers, however, note that Peking has every right to demand withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan area as an evidence of the West's desire for peace.

WHY NO COMMUNIQUE: Nor was the absence of a joint communique cause for speculation. Such a communique was called for after Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. because he had come here to discuss with President Eisenhower international issues and a relaxation of tension. But he was in China as a guest to participate in the anniversary celebration and not as a negotiator or a disputant.

It was becoming increasingly clear that an important reason behind the Khrushchev-Eisenhower understanding on renunciation of war as an instrument of policy was Washington's appreciation of Soviet power; its realization that Soviet nuclear power was indeed equal to if not superior to that of the U.S.

Washington apparently feels differently about Chinese power. U.S. policy in Laos, Taiwan, South Vietnam and South Korea and its flaunting of the might of SEATO in Asian waters indicate that Washington still believes with the late John Foster Dulles in the "temporary character" of the Peking regime. This belief seems to have been bolstered by Peking's concession that its estimate of increase in industrial and agricultural production for 1958 was optimistic.

Wall Street Journal

"Whoever said it's a small world never had to garrison troops all over it."

"GROWING PAINS": Agricultural economist Edmond S. Harris, however, in a letter to the N. Y. **Times** (Sept. 23), cautioned against such an interpretation. He noted that in the transition from "a predominantly feudal to a modern industrial economy a failure of the reporting system is a form of 'growing pains'." This failure, he said, "was probably related also to the rapid transformation to the commune system, where data had to be collected from newly organized production units." He added that "these larger units of production should eventually make it easier to get accurate output data."

The **Times** itself noted (Oct. 4) that "the Mao Tse-tung regime has made enormous strides in industrial production and almost tripled agricultural production compared with 1949."

A U.S.-China understanding can be reached only on the same basis as the U.S.-Soviet understanding was reached at Camp David: on the basis of full equality, in the realization that Peking is no push-over and a war with Peking would be as disastrous for the U.S. as a war with Moscow. In this case the initiative must come from Washington — with troops on what Peking claims as its territory—for it is the party with the most misconception about events in the Far East.

Adlai Stevenson and Mr. K

THERE WAS A CONVERSATION between Premier Khrushchev and Adlai Stevenson in Iowa which sounded like a draft call for Stevenson to run again for President in 1960—and if he does he could do worse than have his campaign manager take a few leaves from Mr. K's political handbook.

With Stevenson's approval, Mr. K reported their private conversation on the Garst farm, as the reporters picked the silage out of their hair. It went thus:

K: "Mr. Stevenson said that he was in political retirement. But in politics it often happens that a person retires today and tomorrow he may be in the first rank. It all depends on the people."

STEVENSON: "It all depends on how many times you can retire."

K: "Honest effort is always rewarded."

STEVENSON: "My efforts have always been honest but they have not always been rewarded.

K: "One must never be discouraged."

It was significant that Stevenson was the only Democrat of national stature to come out and greet Mr. K. Whether it was courtesy, or an astute recognition that peace was in the American political air, it is hard to say. But it is easier to say—and the Democratic Party and politicians have been blind to this fact—that the next election will be fought out on the peace issue and the peace candidate will win.

Visa denied for scientist bearing prize for Du Bois

A LEADING SOVIET scientist has been denied a visa to come to the United States to present the Lenin prize "for strengthening peace between the nations" to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the outstanding Negro scholar and advocate of peace.

No reason was given for the refusal to permit Prof. Dmitri V. Skobeltsyn, head of the physics department of the Soviet Institute of Cosmic Rays Research, to enter the country. A member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Skobeltsyn is also chairman of the Committee for International Lenin prizes. He visited the U.S. in 1955 to attend an "atoms for peace" conference sponsored by the United Nations.

Announcement of the award to Dr. Du Bois was made in Moscow last May. Other recipients of the 1959 prize were Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Ivor Montagu, the British writer.

Bridges to speak Oct. 18 At Chicago labor forum

HARRY BRIDGES, president of the West Coast longshoremen's union, will be the featured speaker at a labor forum Sunday, Oct. 18, 7 p.m., at Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn St., Chicago.

Other participants, who will discuss "The American Labor Movement and the Cold War," include Jack Bollens, Peace Educational Secy. of the American Friends Service Committee; Ernie Mazey, auto union leader; Cecil Patrick, of the Hotel and Restaurant Union; and Sam Pollock, local union president of the Meat Cutters and Butchers Union.

The meeting is sponsored by the American Forum and admission is by contribution of 90c.

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PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, October issue, just off the press, features Paul Novick: Eye-Witness Report on Arabs in Israel; article on Sholom Aleichem and Charlie Chaplin by David Matis; The Incredible Felix Mendelssohn by Maurice Rauch; Letters from Moscow on Jewish Question and Editorial Board reply. Single copies, 35c, subscription $3 yearly ($3.50 outside U.S.). — **JEWISH CURRENTS,** Dept. G, 22 E. 17th St., New York 3.

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THE GALLERY

ACTOR RICHARD WEBB came down the ramp of a plane in Miami last month with his arms locked in a judo grip on two protesting men. He shouted that he was making a "citizen's arrest." The men, he said, were "Khrushchev's boys . . . dangerous spies . . . un-American foreigners." Webb, who plays a spy-catcher on the TV series, "Border Patrol," said he spotted the suspects on the flight from New Orleans. A real border patrol agent who met the plane quickly freed the men after they identified themselves as insurance salesmen. Webb picked up his briefcase marked "Border Patrol" which contained a half empty bottle of vodka and left the airport. The salesmen said they would sue. . . . A group of actors in a television commercial on the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. stood fascinated as a new coffee machine they were advertising went through its routine. First the coffee poured out, then the cream, then the sugar, and finally the paper cup. . . . Owners of an apartment building in Bonn, West Germany, sent official notices to all tenants that jumping from the windows of the building is strictly forbidden, unless supervised by the fire department. . . . A poster on the wall of Zuckerman's, a New York food shop, reads: "In case of fire, please shout FIRE!" . . . Wolf Hess, 21-year-old son of Hitler's minister Rudolph Hess, says he refuses to register for the West German draft because "my conscience does not allow me to serve for the judges of my father."

Wall Street Journal
"We're just one great big happy family here, and it's got to stop."

TO THE FIRST 4,000 PEOPLE who open savings accounts for $25 or more this month, the Franklin Society Federal Savings Bank, 217 Broadway, New York City, is offering free a silver "Peace Dollar" to "mark the historic Eisenhower-Khrushchev peace talks." . . . Movie director King Vidor says: "The way I feel about research: you just read it and forget it." . . . Mrs. Kathleen Behan says of her hard-drinking playwright son, Brendan Behan: "He's such a beautiful boy. He's got a heart as big as his thirst." . . . One of the little known facts about the Soviet Union in Giuseppe Boffa's **Inside the Khrushchev Era** is the recent discovery in Siberia of "diamond fields which may rival those of the Congo and South Africa." The book, which is one of the most informed reports on the U.S.S.R. ever published in the West, is available from Liberty Prometheus Paperback Book Club, 100 W. 23rd St., New York 11; $5 for non-members, $3.50 for members. . . . According to the San Francisco **Chronicle,** Ferenc Iszak, "president of the local Hungarian Freedom Fighters, . . . made a daring escape from Hungary in 1956—three months before the outbreak of the revolution." . . . The entry blank for a contest to name a new dormitory at Columbia U., run by the student paper **Spectator,** contains this sentence: "I hereby swear that I am not, and never have been, a member of the Communist Party."

THE NATL. ASSN. OF BROADCASTERS' Television Code Review Board, after a five-month study, had this advice to TV advertisers of "personal products": LAXATIVES—"avoid techniques which overdramatize the discomfort of one requiring a laxative, which emphasize the speed or efficiency of the laxative, which duplicate the mechanics of elimination by charts or props." DEODORANTS—don't use words like "sweat" and "odor." And avoid camera shots of arm pits. TOILET TISSUE—be careful of "blunt terms for the product such as 'toilet paper' and direct descriptions and demonstrations of its qualities or settings associated with its actual use." COLD AND HEADACHE REMEDIES—Avoid "overuse" of devices showing the circulatory, digestive and nasal systems and "sound effects" which "morbidly" describe discomforts. CORNS AND CALLOUS REMEDIES—don't use words like "itching and burning" or pictures of the products in use.

—Robert E. Light

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U. S. and China

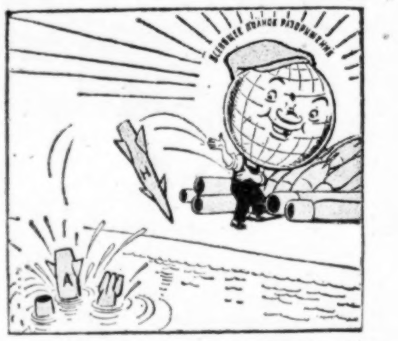
(Continued from Page 1)

stability of the capitalist system by force. . . . This would be wrong. . . . We have always been against predatory wars. Even such a noble and progressive system as socialism cannot be imposed by force of arms against the will of the people. [But socialist countries] by their example of socialist construction [can] inflame the hearts of the peoples and make them follow their lead."

ROAD TO THE SUMMIT: Since the Soviet Premier left Washington, there have been indications in the U.S. that President Eisenhower might still have a rough road to travel to the summit. Opinion seemed to be divided in the Democratic party. Its Advisory Council urged negotiations on the basis of Khrushchev's disarmament proposals. But Presidential aspirant Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said on Oct. 1 that Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. "is cause for redoubled efforts, not relaxation . . . more, not less sacrifice to protect and extend the world's frontiers of freedom." Kennedy said he did not mean "to minimize the values of the talks at Camp David." But, he said, the test would be in Khrushchev's "deeds in Germany and Eastern Europe . . . or in advising the Red Chinese on Laos . . ."

Former Secy. of State Dean Acheson, speaking on "East-West Tensions" at a meeting Oct. 2 in Bonn organized by the American Council on Germany and the Atlantic Bridge organization, strongly criticized President Eisenhower.

THE LIBERATORS: Acheson said the President should refuse to discuss West Berlin with Khrushchev and should build up NATO's military potential. He was supported by Prof. Henry A. ("limited war") Kissinger of Harvard and by Adalbert Weinstein, Frankfurt military com-



Izvestia, Moscow

Top label reads: "General and complete disarmament." Cartoon was captioned: "This is what the people want."

mentator and member of the German General Staff in World War II. Weinstein urged that the West German armed forces be equipped with strategic nuclear weapons.

There was a continuing emphasis on "liberation" of Eastern European countries. Sen. Kennedy, Asst. Secy. of State Andrew Berding and the Republican Committee on Program and Progress all harped on that old theme.

Berding told the League of Republican Women in Washington Oct. 1: "Acceptance of peaceful coexistence has the effect of solidifying the status quo with the Soviet Union dominating the Communist bloc. We do not wish to contribute to the perpetuation of this status quo."

The Republican program makers said: "We are not reconciled to the captivity of millions [in Eastern Europe] by Communist masters, nor do we regard this as their permanent condition."

THE RIFT-MAKERS: Some observers hopefully saw a Soviet-Chinese rift in what seemed to them contradictory statements in Peking and in the absence of a joint Soviet-Chinese communique following Khrushchev's visit. In Peking the Soviet Premier said he had the "impression that the President of the U.S. . . . is aware of the need for relaxing international tension . . . We on our part must do everything possible to exclude war as a means for settling outstanding questions."

Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi was reported to have said: "We firmly demand the withdrawal of American troops from the Taiwan area. There is no force in this world than can prevent the Chinese people from realizing the full unity of its great fatherland."

These two statements seem contradictory only to those who demand evidence of a desire for peaceful negotiation from the East but not from the West. Neutral observers, however, note that Peking has every right to demand withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan area as an evidence of the West's desire for peace.

WHY NO COMMUNIQUE: Nor was the absence of a joint communique cause for speculation. Such a communique was called for after Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. because he had come here to discuss with President Eisenhower international issues and a relaxation of tension. But he was in China as a guest to participate in the anniversary celebration and not as a negotiator or a disputant.

It was becoming increasingly clear that an important reason behind the Khrushchev-Eisenhower understanding on renunciation of war as an instrument of policy was Washington's appreciation of Soviet power; its realization that Soviet nuclear power was indeed equal to if not superior to that of the U.S.

Washington apparently feels differently about Chinese power. U.S. policy in Laos, Taiwan, South Vietnam and South Korea and its flaunting of the might of SEATO in Asian waters indicate that Washington still believes with the late John Foster Dulles in the "temporary character" of the Peking regime. This

Wall Street Journal

"Whoever said it's a small world never had to garrison troops all over it."

belief seems to have been bolstered by Peking's concession that its estimate of increase in industrial and agricultural production for 1958 was optimistic.

"GROWING PAINS": Agricultural economist Edmond S. Harris, however, in a letter to the N. Y. **Times** (Sept. 23), cautioned against such an interpretation. He noted that in the transition from "a predominantly feudal to a modern industrial economy a failure of the reporting system is a form of 'growing pains'." This failure, he said, "was probably related also to the rapid transformation to the commune system, where data had to be collected from newly organized production units." He added that "these larger units of production should eventually make it easier to get accurate output data."

The **Times** itself noted (Oct. 4) that "the Mao Tse-tung regime has made enormous strides in industrial production and almost tripled agricultural production compared with 1949."

A U.S.-China understanding can be reached only on the same basis as the U.S.-Soviet understanding was reached at Camp David: on the basis of full equality, in the realization that Peking is no push-over and a war with Peking would be as disastrous for the U.S. as a war with Moscow. In this case the initiative must come from Washington — with troops on what Peking claims as its territory—for it is the party with the most misconception about events in the Far East.

Visa denied for scientist bearing prize for Du Bois

A LEADING SOVIET scientist has been denied a visa to come to the United States to present the Lenin prize "for strengthening peace between the nations" to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the outstanding Negro scholar and advocate of peace.

No reason was given for the refusal to permit Prof. Dmitri V. Skobeltsyn, head of the physics department of the Soviet Institute of Cosmic Rays Research, to enter the country. A member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Skobeltsyn is also chairman of the Committee for International Lenin prizes. He visited the U.S. in 1955 to attend an "atoms for peace" conference sponsored by the United Nations.

Announcement of the award to Dr. Du Bois was made in Moscow last May. Other recipients of the 1959 prize were Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Ivor Montagu, the British writer.

Adlai Stevenson and Mr. K

THERE WAS A CONVERSATION between Premier Khrushchev and Adlai Stevenson in Iowa which sounded like a draft call for Stevenson to run again for President in 1960—and if he does he could do worse than have his campaign manager take a few leaves from Mr. K's political handbook.

With Stevenson's approval, Mr. K reported their private conversation on the Garst farm, as the reporters picked the silage out of their hair. It went thus:

K: "Mr. Stevenson said that he was in political retirement. But in politics it often happens that a person retires today and tomorrow he may be in the first rank. It all depends on the people."

STEVENSON: "It all depends on how many times you can retire."

K: "Honest effort is always rewarded."

STEVENSON: "My efforts have always been honest but they have not always been rewarded."

K: "One must never be discouraged."

It was significant that Stevenson was the only Democrat of national stature to come out and greet Mr. K. Whether it was courtesy, or an astute recognition that peace was in the American political air, it is hard to say. But it is easier to say—and the Democratic Party and politicians have been blind to this fact—that the next election will be fought out on the peace issue and the peace candidate will win.

Bridges to speak Oct. 18 At Chicago labor forum

HARRY BRIDGES, president of the West Coast longshoremen's union, will be the featured speaker at a labor forum Sunday, Oct. 18, 7 p.m., at Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn St., Chicago.

Other participants, who will discuss "The American Labor Movement and the Cold War," include Jack Bollens, Peace Educational Secy. of the American Friends Service Committee; Ernie Mazey, auto union leader; Cecil Patrick, of the Hotel and Restaurant Union; and Sam Pollock, local union president of the Meat Cutters and Butchers Union.

The meeting is sponsored by the American Forum and admission is by contribution of 90c.

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Tickets available: Discount Records, Inc., 201 N. LaSalle; Lisbon's, 43 E. Oak; The Disc, 1367 E. 57; Devon Records, Inc., 2746 W. Devon. Mail orders: Orchestra Hall, 220 S. Michigan. Send self-addressed stamped envelope. Presented by TRIANGLE PRODUCTIONS in association with ALBERT B. GROSSMAN CONCERTS, Inc.

American Forum of Chicago presents: HARRY BRIDGES, Pres. Longshore & Warehouse Union, S. F., "AMERICAN LABOR & THE COLD WAR." Also other prominent union representatives (names of unions for purpose of identification only) Sid Lens, Building Service Union, Chicago; Ernie Mazey, Auto Union, Detroit; Cecil Patrick, Hotel & Restaurant Union, Chicago; Sam Pollock, Cleveland Butcher Workers Union. Jack Bollens, American Quakers. **Sun., Oct. 18, 7 p.m., Grand Ballroom, Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn St.**

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PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, October issue, just off the press, features Paul Novick: Eye-Witness Report on Arabs in Israel; article on Sholom Aleichem and Charlie Chaplin by David Matis; The Incredible Felix Mendelssohn by Maurice Rauch; Letters from Moscow on Jewish Question and Editorial Board reply. Single copies, 35c, subscription $3 yearly ($3.50 outside U.S.). — **JEWISH CURRENTS,** Dept. G, 22 E. 17th St., New York 3.

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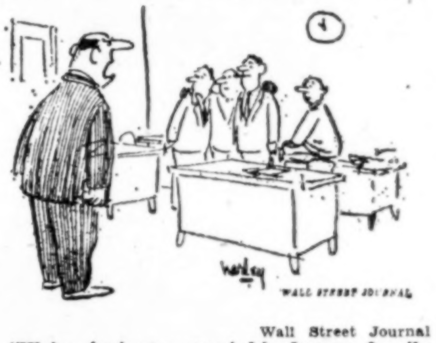
THE GALLERY

ACTOR RICHARD WEBB came down the ramp of a plane in Miami last month with his arms locked in a judo grip on two protesting men. He shouted that he was making a "citizen's arrest." The men, he said, were "Khrushchev's boys . . . dangerous spies . . . un-American foreigners." Webb, who plays a spy-catcher on the TV series, "Border Patrol," said he spotted the suspects on the flight from New Orleans. A real border patrol agent who met the plane quickly freed the men after they identified themselves as insurance salesmen. Webb picked up his briefcase marked "Border Patrol" which contained a half empty bottle of vodka and left the airport. The salesmen said they would sue. . . . A group of actors in a television commercial on the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. stood fascinated as a new coffee machine they were advertising went through its routine. First the coffee poured out, then the cream, then the sugar, and finally the paper cup. . . . Owners of an apartment building in Bonn, West Germany, sent official notices to all tenants that jumping from the windows of the building is strictly forbidden, unless supervised by the fire department. . . . A poster on the wall of Zuckerman's, a New York food shop, reads: "In case of fire, please shout FIRE!" . . . Wolf Hess, 21-year-old son of Hitler's minister Rudolph Hess, says he refuses to register for the West German draft because "my conscience does not allow me to serve for the judges of my father."

TO THE FIRST 4,000 PEOPLE who open savings accounts for $25 or more this month, the Franklin Society Federal Savings Bank, 217 Broadway, New York City, is offering free a silver "Peace Dollar" to "mark the historic Eisenhower-Khrushchev peace talks." . . . Movie director King Vidor says: "The way I feel about research: you just read it and forget it." . . . Mrs. Kathleen Behan says of her hard-drinking playwright son, Brendan Behan: "He's such a beautiful boy. He's got a heart as big as his thirst." . . . One of the little known facts about the Soviet Union in Giuseppe Boffa's **Inside the Khrushchev Era** is the recent discovery in Siberia of "diamond fields which may rival those of the Congo and South Africa." The book, which is one of the most informed reports on the U.S.S.R. ever published in the West, is available from Liberty Prometheus Paperback Book Club, 100 W. 23rd St., New York 11; $5 for non-members, $3.50 for members. . . . According to the San Francisco **Chronicle**, Ferenc Iszak, "president of the local Hungarian Freedom Fighters, . . . made a daring escape from Hungary in 1956—three months before the outbreak of the revolution." . . . The entry blank for a contest to name a new dormitory at Columbia U., run by the student paper **Spectator**, contains this sentence: "I hereby swear that I am not, and never have been, a member of the Communist Party."



Wall Street Journal
"We're just one great big happy family here, and it's got to stop."

THE NATL. ASSN. OF BROADCASTERS' Television Code Review Board, after a five-month study, had this advice to TV advertisers of "personal products": LAXATIVES—"avoid techniques which overdramatize the discomfort of one requiring a laxative, which emphasize the speed or efficiency of the laxative, which duplicate the mechanics of elimination by charts or props." DEODORANTS—don't use words like "sweat" and "odor." And avoid camera shots of arm pits. TOILET TISSUE—be careful of "blunt terms for the product such as 'toilet paper' and direct descriptions and demonstrations of its qualities or settings associated with its actual use." COLD AND HEADACHE REMEDIES—Avoid "overuse" of devices showing the circulatory, digestive and nasal systems and "sound effects" which "morbidly" describe discomforts. CORNS AND CALLOUS REMEDIES—don't use words like "itching and burning" or pictures of the products in use.

—**Robert E. Light**

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

George Padmore's life

THE GIFT OF THE WEST INDIES to Western Culture has never been appreciated. Blacks, mulattoes, octoroons and whites have sprung from these beautiful mountains set in the tropic seas and giving birth on their peaks to fruit and flower, animal and vegetable and extraordinary human beings: Toussaint L'Overture and the Empress Josephine; Browning and Henri Christophe, the Dumas family, Gomez and Maceo and a host of poets, politicians and artists. And George Padmore, just dead at the age of 56.

I met him first in London when I was organizing the Pan-African congresses. He was a brilliant young writer and student and I kept in touch with him. He was born in Trinidad of well-to-do and educated parents. He came to the United States for his education and was trained at Fisk where I had attended college 30 years earlier; and then he took a degree at the Howard Law School. He joined the Communist Party as a young man and finally went to Europe, living and working in London, Germany and the Soviet Union.

GEORGE PADMORE

George Padmore devoted his entire life to the cause of African freedom. He worked as a journalist and collected a remarkable library of books and newspaper clippings which formed the basis of his research for some of the best books ever written on British colonialism, especially in Africa. His last work was **Africa, Britain's Third Empire.**

In the Soviet Union he lectured, was a member of the Comintern and of the Colonial Bureau of the Communist International. He differed with the Soviet leaders on matters concerning Africa and the treatment of African leaders. Just what these points of difference were I do not know. I was hoping that when I went to Ghana I would have opportunity to discuss these matters with Padmore. Hitler deported him to England and the United States repeatedly refused him a visa.

I MET HIM LAST IN 1945. When I rejoined the NAACP in 1944, I was especially interested in continuing the Pan-African congresses. The next year the trade unions of the world met in Paris and, for the first time, African unions were strongly represented. White union leaders of Britain and America wanted to speak for these unions, knowing more or less consciously that low wages in colonies were the reason for high wages for white workers in Europe and America. Therefore it would not do to have these Negroes too vocal. But the overwhelming communist vote of Europe sustained the Negroes and they gave loud voice to their complaints.

When the Paris meeting adjourned, the African trade unionists, on advice of Padmore, demanded the calling of a fifth Pan-African Congress in London. The Pan-African movement had no office or permanent organization and I, as secretary of the last congress, was its only representative. Padmore wrote me and I gladly consented to call a Congress in London in 1945. There were difficulties about halls and accommodations, but at last Manchester invited us to meet there and gave us hearty welcome. I flew over to preside and Padmore and an African, Kwame Nkrumah, took charge of arrangements.

It proved a most inspiring meeting. There was a large number of Africans present, representing workers rather than professional men, as had been the rule in previous congresses. There was Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, afterward accused of abetting the Mau Mau rebellion. There was Nkrumah, who later secured the independence of Ghana and is now its prime minister. There was Johnson, the Liberian labor leader, and Nikol, leader of the cocoa farmers. Padmore was the inspiration and real organizer of the conference and the man who picked Nkrumah for leadership and groomed him for the job.

WHEN NKRUMAH BECAME PRIME MINISTER of independent Ghana, he called Padmore to be his chief adviser. Padmore conceived his role to be the shaping of a Ghana British in culture and American in economy. He published a book, **Pan-Africanism or Communism?**, arguing that West Africa should avoid the Soviet Union's example and try to develop a socialism along British lines. He said pleasant things about my Pan-African congresses, but I disagreed with him and urged closer ties with the Soviets and distrust of American capitalism.

Unfortunately we never had a chance to discuss this difference of view face to face. My wife Shirley Graham visited him in Accra last December. He died in a London hospital while his wife was with me and my wife in New York; and at an age far too young for the good of his race and era. He was a brilliant and devoted man. His death is a warning to the middle-aged: Watch your health; save your strength. Today as never before the Negro people need their leaders, particularly men of experience and learning like George Padmore.

—W. E. B. Du Bois